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THE

LIFE

OF

THE RIGHT REVEREND

THOMAS FANSHAW MIDDLETON, D.D.

LATE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

BY

THE REV. CHARLES WEBB LE BAS, M.A.

PROFESSOR IN THE EAST INDIA COLLEGE, HERTFORDSHIRE,
AND LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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THE

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BISHOP MIDDLETON.

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On the 8th of August in this year the Bishop had laid the first stone of a church to be erected at Dum-Dum, the principal station, near Cal-

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cutta, of the European artillery [1]; and it was satisfactory to learn that other churches were likely to be built in the more important stations

[1] The following inscription was engraved on a brass plate, enclosed in the bottom of the foundation stone :—

In nomine Individuæ Trinitatis
Anno LVIII. Georgii Tertii
Britanniarum regis
Pii, venerandi, suis cari,
Quum rebus Societatis Anglicanæ
Apud Indos mercaturam facientis
Cum militaribus
Tum civilibus præesset
Vir summe Nobilis
Franciscus Marchio de Hastings,
Pacata Nepaulia
Mahrattis in ditionem Britannicam
Redactis,
Ubique Felix,
Ecclesiæ Dum-Dummensis
Jacta sunt fundamenta
Sumptibus Societatis
Auspicante Thoma
Primo sedis Calcuttensis Episcopo
Adjuvante Thoma Robinson
Presbytero.
Faxit Spiritus Sanctus
Ut hocce opus ad uberrimos
Evangelii fructus redundet.
Amen.

of the presidency, where they were so much wanted. In the meantime, the various religious designs for the promotion of Christian knowledge and education, not only in Calcutta, but in every part of his diocese, continued to engage the Bishop's active and zealous interest. Among the most important of them was, the establishment of schools for the diffusion of useful knowledge among the native inhabitants of the presidency of Bengal, under the management and control of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. This Society had, from the first appointment of the Bishop, placed votes of credit at his disposal, which, from time to time, were most liberally renewed. These the Bishop made use of for various objects connected with the advancement of Christianity. In order that the public may be fully in possession of the motives which induced him to devote to this project a portion of the resources thus entrusted to his disposal, an extract from the letter, in which he announced his proceedings to their secretary, Dr. Gaskin, is here inserted, dated Calcutta, 21st August, 1818.

. . . . . "I have now to communicate that I have availed myself of the vote of credit granted me by the Society, on an occasion which appears to me fully to justify an application of their funds, though its novelty may require some explanation.

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"It has long been the opinion of persons the best acquainted with the state of this country, that little progress can be made in the work of conversion, in the present prevalence of ignorance and superstition. My own observation leads me decidedly to this conclusion: and the conclusion is so general, that the missionaries of all the Christian sects are turning nearly the whole of their attention to the business of native schools. The Church Missionary Society are also labouring in this department; and, as I have reason to believe, with good success.

"It had long been the wish of some of the members of our diocesan committee, that we also should contribute our endeavours to the mental and moral improvement of the natives; but, on various accounts, I considered it to be my duty to deprecate our interference in the business, till experience had shown us what was safe and practicable. In this interval, experience, upon a pretty large scale, has afforded us the information required; and the change of sentiment among our European residents has been at least proportionate. The enlightened nobleman[1] who presides over the interests of Great

[1] The Marquess of Hastings, in a public discourse as visitor of the college of Fort-William, observed, that "the amendment must begin from the lowest step. It is only by facilitating and encouraging the education of a rising generation, that any thing solid can be done; a process to which I am

Britain in India, is the known and avowed promoter of all which can tend to rescue the native mind from its present state of bondage: and his lordship loses not any opportunity, in his public addresses, of recommending all temperate endeavours to disseminate European knowledge throughout this vast population.

"At a time, then, when all classes of Christians amongst us, and some even of the natives themselves, are coming forward in the work of education, I could no longer think it consistent with the honour of the Church in this country, or of our Church Society, to remain passive in a scene of such activity. We cannot, indeed, at once begin with doing all that we wish; or all that the name of our Society may seem to import. Christian knowledge cannot, in such circumstances, be inculcated at the outset. The rudiments of science and moral truth are all which it is found possible to communicate in this early stage; and more will not be attempted by ourselves. We trust, however, that when the minds of the rising generation shall have been made unfit to receive gross and grovelling prejudices, they will be open to the admission of truth, and the blessed influence of the Gospel.

satisfied the parents will every where be found eagerly disposed, from what they have seen of the advantages of our science."

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"It was resolved, therefore, a few days since, at a numerous meeting at which I had the honour to preside:—

"'1. That it is expedient that schools be established by this committee for the purpose of diffusing useful knowledge among the inhabitants of the territory subject to this presidency.

"'2. That the school be primarily for the conveyance of knowledge in the languages of the country; but that boys distinguished by their proficiency in these, be removable to separate schools, where English shall be taught.

"'3. That donations be solicited from members of the diocesan committee and others, for carrying into effect the preceding resolutions, and also annual subscriptions, the amount to be left to the option of the subscribers; and that the sums thus accruing shall be applied, exclusively and entirely, to the aforesaid object, and be annually accounted for in the general report.

"'4. That a separate committee be formed for carrying into effect the above purposes, to be called the school committee, and consist of the select committee for the time being, and of additional members, being also members of the diocesan committee:'

"With other resolutions of less importance.

"By the third resolution you will perceive, that no part of the sums contributed specifically for schools, will be remitted to England. If your

claim to a third had extended thus far, I am convinced, from the manner in which the question was repeatedly asked, that it would have been fatal to the whole design. But the reason of your claim does not apply to the present instance; and the case seems to be clearly exempted in the last clause of your tenth regulation respecting district committees. I consider, however, that, by this measure, the interests of the Society cannot fail to be advanced. There will, no doubt, be many contributors merely in support of schools; but these will have no part in our proceedings, even when schools are the subject: so that the inducement to join us will be increased; not to insist that our general designs will thus become better known.

"Upon these grounds I have deemed it advisable to put down, in the name of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," the sum of 2000 Sicca rupees: and it will afford me much satisfaction to know, that I have employed their funds to a purpose which they cordially approve."

The operations of the committee, in pursuance of these plans, were commenced at Russipoogly, at which place, and in the vicinity of Kalughat, four schools were immediately established. A second circle of schools was contemplated for Cossipore; thus comprising two of the most populous districts in the vicinity of

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Calcutta. The schools enjoyed the advantage of assiduous visitation by the Rev. Mr. Hawtayne, who had undertaken the office of the secretary to the committee. They were patronised with surprising liberality. No less than between 1400*l.* and 1500*l.* were contributed towards their support in donations, besides 500*l.* in annual subscriptions. Among the beneficial effects which the Bishop anticipated from the instruction thus afforded to the children of heathens and idolaters, was the impulse they would probably give to the curiosity of the native population; a principle which, once excited, might eventually lead to results much more valuable than the acquisition of secular or scientific knowledge. In this expectation it would seem he was not disappointed. In a letter written some months afterwards [1], he says, "As to the state of the native mind in this neighbourhood, I am convinced that great changes are taking place. *Our schools are giving rise to a great deal of discussion.* The people seem very much disposed to send their children, notwithstanding that they perceive the tendency of knowledge to make them Christians. They suppose '*it must be!*' I see evidently that idolatry must be undermined, and not ridiculed. I heard the other day of some little ill-humour about our schools: but it turned

[1] To archdeacon Barnes, January 28th, 1819.

out that a missionary had been in the district, using language by which the people felt themselves insulted." The very name indeed of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," precluded any pledge to abstain from prosecuting the declared object of religious truth, while merely pursuing the design of general instruction: hence, while the constitution of the Society would not admit of such an association with natives as might, probably, tend at present to increase the number of children in its schools, the line of action which it pursued, would render such a step incompatible with its ultimate object, whenever opportunities might open for wholly fulfilling it."

The measures thus in progress in Calcutta, for the more effectual promotion of knowledge and truth, were accompanied with corresponding zeal at the subordinate presidencies. At Madras, a constant and unreserved communication on the affairs of the southern missions was maintained between the district committee and Bishop Middleton, and gave a sanction to their measures, which his authority alone could impart. The encouragement which he afforded to frequent reference, by the immediate and full communication of his invaluable opinion and advice on all important points, gave life and spirit to their exertions; and enabled them to suggest measures for the improvement and welfare of the mission, which, when approved by the

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Bishop, came recommended to the Society by the weight of his deliberate judgment. At Bombay, the district committee received additional strength by an order from the local government to be annually supplied with religious books, to the amount of 100*l.* for the use of the army and marine. A measure was also proposed for translating some of the Society's tracts into the native languages, not only for more general distribution, but in order, in some degree, to supply the great deficiency of original school books in the languages in most general use.

While the Bishop was thus personally and anxiously engaged in devising and patronising measures for the eventual propagation of the Gospel throughout our extensive dominions in the East, he continued to regard with much interest, as a valuable auxiliary in the intellectual improvement of the natives, the proceedings of the Calcutta school-book Society. The sphere of their labour increased, in proportion as the Society studied their worth. The field was new. An object, which in other countries, and under more favourable circumstances, might appear to some persons beneath the attention of a large association of individuals, was here of primary and extensive utility. In India is a vast population immersed in ignorance. Learning, if it at any time pervaded the body, is in a manner extinct.

The *love* of learning is to be excited; the powers of the mind are to be opened and brought into exercise. And the Society rightly judged that the education of the natives could not be more effectually promoted than by taking the young pupil at the very commencement of his studies, and providing him gradually with such books, as will conduct him, in due order, to the higher branches of learning.

In their recommendation of elementary books, the Society[1] preferred such as are in common use among the natives, as far as they could be approved, knowing the general aversion of the natives to novelty and change. But they soon found how few suitable school books existed in India: and, in receiving their supplies from Europe, it is obvious that images and descriptions drawn from European scenery and manners were but ill calculated for Indian schools. To the European instructor one of the first wants is a supply of tracts, skilfully adapted to the indigenous turn of thought, and to the mode of argument which is familiar to the native mind. In this useful work the Society continued to be actively engaged: and it was a gratifying symptom of the better prospects which were now beginning to open for India, that, encouraged by European example and co-operation, the

[1] First Report, 1818.

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opulent and more learned natives evinced a laudable willingness to aid in the efforts making to improve the condition and character of their fellow-countrymen.

The general interest now excited in England, by these proceedings of the Church in India, was shewn in an unexpected, and somewhat unusual manner. The University of Oxford, anxious to evince its sense of the great usefulness and importance of the ecclesiastical establishment in India, conferred, by a vote of Convocation, the degree of Doctor in Divinity on the archdeacons of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, who were each already graduates in that university. And the Vice-Chancellor, in a letter to the Bishop, requested his lordship to make known to them this compliment of the university, in testimony of the interest it took in the advancement of Christianity in the East, in connection with the Established Church. The same compliment was subsequently paid to the archdeacon of Colombo.

We now approach a time when the spirits of Bishop Middleton were happily revived and elevated by information, that certain vigorous and decisive measures had for some time been in agitation at home, with reference to missionary objects in India. In the middle of September, 1818, he received intelligence of a most animating nature, which amply indemnified him for

a long period of anxiety. At the commencement of the year [1], his grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury, as President of the incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, stated to the board of that institution, that time having been now allowed for the due settlement of episcopal authority in India, it appeared to him that the moment was at length arrived, when the operations of the Society might be safely and usefully extended in that quarter of the world; and that, with the security derived from proper diocesan control, it now became the Society to offer their co-operation with the Lord Bishop of Calcutta in such places as, with the concurrence of the constituted authorities for the governments of India, his lordship might be inclined to recommend. In pursuance of this intimation, it was resolved, that the sum of 5,000*l.* should be immediately placed at the disposal of the Bishop of Calcutta, to be used at his lordship's discretion, for the furtherance of the objects contemplated by the Society, without the loss of time which must necessarily be incurred by previous communication with Europe."

In thus extending their operations to the British dominions in the East, the Society expressed [2]

[1] See Report of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1819, p. 76.

[2] Address to the Public, 1818.

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themselves deeply sensible of the important obligations incumbent upon them, as members of a corporation originally established for the purpose of spreading the knowledge of the Gospel throughout the colonies and settlements under the dominion of British authority, and as induced by a variety of favourable circumstances, to extend their operations to the islands and continent of Asia. The appointment of a Bishop of Calcutta had supplied them with an adviser of not less discretion than zeal, to direct the Society's proceedings at the outset,—to point out safe and unexceptionable modes of acting,—to suggest proper rules and directions—and finally, to assist by his authority in the control and regulation of their missions. It was considered, however, that the present state of their funds was totally inadequate to such increased exertions; a petition therefore was presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, soliciting to be indulged with a letter to the archbishops, authorising a general collection within their provinces for the good uses of the Society: to which his Royal Highness readily assented.

This intelligence was as the breath of life to Bishop Middleton. It shewed him that his urgent representations had, at last, succeeded in communicating a powerful impulse to the public feelings in England. In his correspondence he speaks in language of high and grateful exultation of the

noble grant of the Society, and earnestly prays that God will direct him in the application of it. The royal letter he hails as a measure of "*great energy and dignity.*" "This," he says, "is one of the most gratifying things I have heard of since I came out to India, and it will raise the Church prodigiously both here and at home." He anticipated from this proceeding a mighty reinforcement to the strength which would certainly be derived from so decided a movement on the part of the Church towards these distant settlements of the empire. In these measures he contemplated with thankfulness the reward of his repeated and laborious statements relative to the languishing condition of our Indian missionary establishments, and the great spiritual wants of our Indian subjects; and he acknowledges that even in his most sanguine moments, he had never ventured to anticipate so magnificent a result.

One memorable effect may most assuredly be traced to these splendid manifestations; for they confirmed him in the resolution to attempt the foundation of a mission college at Calcutta. It seems that a design of this nature had, for some time, been forming itself in his mind; and this manifestation of spirit in his own country, gave the final impulse which carried him forward to the execution of his purpose. Of the expediency of such an establishment, to be maintained on a

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liberal scale, in connection with the Church, he repeatedly expresses himself, in the strongest language, in his correspondence with his friends: and he recommends that it be fixed at the supreme presidency, so that it might become a seminary from which missionaries might be supplied for any part of the Indian diocese. From this period, we may consider the proposed Institution as the central object in all his designs for the advancement of Christianity in the East: and the project is unquestionably one which, alone, ought to secure him the gratitude and veneration of future ages. In the event of its success, the Church (as he himself observes) would be placed on a proud pre-eminence in the work of conversion, and would have a noble establishment for the propagation of the Gospel, such as no other Protestant Church had yet possessed. The nature of Bishop Middleton's design is fully developed in the following letter to the Rev. A. Hamilton, secretary to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, dated November 16th, 1818:—

Reverend Sir,

I have received your letter conveying to me a copy of the proceedings of the Society in the month of March last, on the subject of India missions; from which it appears, that the Society have placed at my disposal the sum of 5,000*l.*,

and invite my more particular suggestions as to the most prudent and practicable methods of promoting Christianity in this country. The Society may be assured, that I have been much gratified by this communication, and that I shall, with the Divine blessing, heartily co-operate with them in an enterprise so honourable to our Established Church, and commenced under auspices which give it the character of a national effort to disseminate in these regions our holy faith in its purest form.

In offering to the Society my opinion as to what may be prudent, with reference to the *safety* of the measure, I can feel no embarrassment: the *danger*, generally speaking, of attempting to propagate Christianity in this country, is not the difficulty with which we have to contend: ordinary discretion is all that is required, and every proceeding I should consider to be safe, which did not offer a direct and open affront to the prevailing superstitions. In any attempt to enlighten, to instruct, or to convince, experience has abundantly shewn that there is not the smallest ground for alarm; and this, I believe, is now admitted by many, who once regarded such attempts with manifest apprehension. A more remarkable change of sentiment has seldom been effected within so short an interval.

The question, however, what may be practicable, so as most effectually to further the So-

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ciety's views, is much more comprehensive. Experience does not hold out much encouragement to efforts, which rely for their success entirely on the effect to be produced by preaching: they seem rarely to have excited any interest beyond that of a transient curiosity. The minds of the people are not generally in a state to be impressed by the force of argument, and still less to be awakened to reflection by appeals to their feelings and their fears: and yet preaching must form a part, a prominent part, I apprehend, in any scheme for the conversion of these people. What is further required, seems to be a preparation of the native mind to comprehend the importance and truth of the doctrines proposed to them: and this must be the effect of education. The Scriptures must also be translated, and other writings conducive to the end in view.

To embrace and combine these objects, therefore, I would have the honour to recommend to the Society, the establishment of a mission college, in the immediate vicinity of this capital, to be subservient to the several purposes;—

1. Of instructing native and other Christian youth in the doctrines and discipline of the Church, in order to their becoming preachers, catechists, and schoolmasters.

2. For teaching the elements of useful knowledge and the English language to Mussulmans

or Hindoos, having no object in such attainments beyond secular advantage.

3. For translating the Scriptures, the Liturgy, and moral and religious tracts.

4. For the reception of English missionaries to be sent out by the Society, on their first arrival in India.

It may be expected that something should be offered in explanation of my meaning, under each of the heads.

1. One object proposed in this establishment is the training of native and Christian youth to be preachers, schoolmasters, and catechists. Such, I have no doubt, might be found in sufficient number, when it was understood that they would be fostered in a respectable establishment, with the assurance of an adequate provision upon leaving it: and I am clearly of opinion, that though native teachers by themselves will never effect much, our religion will make little progress in this country without their aid. The native Christian is a necessary link between the European and the Pagan: these two have little in common: they want some point of contact; the European and native mind seem to be cast in different moulds: if the Hindoo finds it very difficult to argue as we argue, and to view things as we view them, it is scarcely more easy for us to imagine ourselves in his condition, and to enter into the misconceptions and prejudices

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which obstruct his reception of the truth. The task is much the same as that of a man who, in the full maturity of understanding and knowledge, should endeavour to divest himself of these, and to think as a child.

It may have been observed, that I have mentioned the education of native and *other* Christian youth: in which I include a class of persons, who, though born in this country, are to be distinguished from natives usually so denominated, being the offspring of European parents: and I had more especially in view the sons of missionaries, who might be glad to avail themselves of this opportunity to bring up their sons to the same profession. It may not, perhaps, be improper to add, that, when I was in the south of India, specific proposals of this kind were made to me by missionaries of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

2. Another of the objects proposed is, to afford to native children instruction in useful knowledge, and especially in the English language, without any immediate view to their becoming Christians. It seems now to be generally believed, that little effect can be produced by preaching, while superstition and extreme ignorance are the prevailing characteristics of the people. We have not here, indeed, to encounter barbarism; the impediments to conversion are probably much greater than really

rude and uncivilised life ever presents: the progress of our religion is here opposed by discipline and system; and by these alone, with the Divine blessing, can it ever make its way. The tenets of superstition are inculcated in early life: the popular writings are generally tales familiarising the mind with the achievements of Hindoo divinities; and the Brahmin possesses an almost unbounded influence over the people committed to his care. While this state of things prevails, the truths of the Gospel are heard unheeded: they are not perceived to be truths, nor is there much disposition to examine them. They appeal to no recognised principle, and they excite no interest. The Hindoo, if he reflect at all, finds atonement in his sacrifices, and a mediator in his priest.

It is conceived, therefore, that one great instrument of the success of Christianity will be the diffusion of European knowledge. It seems almost impossible that they, who in their childhood shall have been accustomed to use their minds, can ever afterwards be capable of adopting the absurdities and reverencing the abominations now proposed to them as truth, and the acceptable worship of God: it is hoped that, by enlarging the sphere of their ideas generally, we shall teach them to enquire at least upon subjects, on which we do not professedly instruct them; and that they, who have been emanci-

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pated from superstition, may in time be brought to a knowledge of Christ.

I have, however, laid particular stress upon the teaching of English. If this were generally understood through the country, it would, I doubt not, entirely alter the condition of the people: it would give them access to our literature and habits of thinking; and the familiar use of it would tend very much to dissipate the prejudices and the indifference, which now stand in the way of conversion. Our language is so unlike every thing Oriental, not merely in its structure, but in the ideas to which it is made subservient, in imagery, in metaphor, and in sentiment, that a competent acquaintance with it seems unavoidably to lead the mind of a native into a new train of thought, and a wider field of reflection. We, in learning the languages of the East, acquire only a knowledge of words: but the Oriental, in learning our language, extends his knowledge of things.

The introduction of our language, however, into this country to any great extent, is, in the present state of things, to be wished for rather than to be expected. To the acquisition of it there has not been much inducement. For almost every purpose of intercourse with the natives, we have learnt their languages, instead of inviting them to learn ours: the effect of which has been, that they have hitherto known little more

of our religion, our science, and our institutions, than may have transpired in an intercourse which had other objects in view. Still, however, parents are found, who are anxious that their children should acquire our language, especially in the neighbourhood of the presidencies; and this disposition is increasing: a knowledge of English is found to facilitate the intercourse of the natives with the commercial part of the community, especially since the opening of the trade; and it is useful in some of the public offices. Of this disposition we should avail ourselves as far as we can: neither is there a backwardness to attend schools for instruction in general knowledge: the only restriction is, that we do not introduce the Scriptures, or books directly inculcating our religion; and even that is by no means rigidly enforced.

3. In the third place, I would make the mission college subservient to the purpose of translations. Much has, indeed, been done or attempted in this way; but by no means, as I have reason to believe, so much and so well, as to make this department of missionary labour superfluous or unimportant. We still want versions, which, instead of being the work of one or two individuals, should be the joint production of several, taking their allotted portions of Scripture, submitting their tasks to approved examiners, and sending the whole into the world

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under the sanction of authority. Rapidity of execution, and the carrying on of many versions at the same time, should not be among the objects aimed at: it is not to be expected that standard works can be thus produced. To the same department would be committed translations of our Liturgy, that thus copies of the prayer-book might accompany the Scriptures: hence also might emanate translations of useful tracts, or original ones better adapted, perhaps, than any which exist, to the use of the natives: and it would be proper to include under this head, what probably has not yet been attempted, I mean something which might convey to converts an idea of the nature of Christian society, and the constitution of the Church. Success, however, in this department, evidently supposes the college to be well established, and great progress to have been made in the languages by the persons connected with it; and at no period perhaps could it supply the number of labourers required: but it would doubtless receive assistance from without, from persons abundantly competent to afford it, and be a point of union for the exertions of all, who would wish the native Christianity of India to be that of the Established Church.

4. In the last place, I consider the college as affording great advantages to missionaries coming from England, upon their first arrival: they

would here live in the society of persons, whose minds were directed to the same pursuits; they would have in the moonshees attached to the institution, every facility for acquiring the languages: they would have the use of books, and they would acquire a knowledge of the manners and opinions of the natives, before they proceeded to their destined scene of duty. Every missionary must, in fact, have been a year or more in the country, before he can be at all efficient; and no where could he pass this interval so profitably as in such an establishment.

It is obvious, however, that this plan will require considerable funds. The 5000*l.* already voted will probably be sufficient to defray the expense of all requisite buildings, including the purchase of land. The annual expense of the establishment is a subject of separate consideration: in the beginning, we should require at least two persons, and afterwards three, to be permanently attached to the seminary, as professors or teachers: and these should be clergymen of the Church of England. The salary of the senior could not be well less than 400 sicca rupees per month, or 600*l.* per annum; and that of his colleague or colleagues 300 sicca rupees per month, or 450*l.* per annum; and I should hope, that men well qualified for the work, and really actuated by zeal in such a cause (without which all other qualifications would be useless) might

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be induced to accept the appointments: in addition to the salary, a residence capable of accommodating a family would be assigned to each. Two moonshees or native teachers would cost together about 100*l.* per annum. Ten students, as above described, might be fed and clothed for about 500*l.* per annum; and a small establishment of servants would require about 100*l.* per annum. These different heads of expenditure make up an annual sum of 2100*l.* supposing three professors; or 1650*l.* with two. Besides this, a printing establishment would in a few years require to be supported; and native schools would also be attended with some expense (about 36*l.* per annum) for every school of one hundred children, besides about 20*l.* for building a room or shed: but for this I have little doubt that the liberality of the Indian public would in a great measure provide, as has lately been done with respect to the schools of the Calcutta diocesan committee. I do not know of any contingent expenses, except repairs, which in the case of new and substantial buildings could not amount to any thing considerable for the first twenty years.

But we are to recollect, that our institution has for its leading object the education of persons who are afterwards to be maintained as missionaries, catechists, and schoolmasters, and to act under and in concert with missionaries to be

sent out from England. I suppose every missionary station to be the residence of an English missionary (a clergyman), one or two missionaries educated in the college, and who might perhaps be ordained, or a missionary and a catechist, and a schoolmaster, all from the college. This would be the state of things when the system was in full action, and any considerable progress had been made. The English missionary would be indispensable to direct the course of proceedings, and to give respectability and energy to the mission: while the native missionaries would be necessary not only for the tasks assigned them, but to give the English missionary easier access to the natives, and to assist him in encountering opinions and habits with which an European must be less conversant. It is difficult to determine, or rather to conjecture, how many stations thus constituted, the college, with the proposed number of students, might in any given period supply: much, of course, would depend upon the age of admission and the time required for their studies, according to which the succession would be quicker or slower: but the admission might be so regulated as to supply any demand not beyond its actual power, which demand would be limited by the funds applicable to the support of missionaries, &c. brought up in the college. Upon any reasonable supposition, however, a college

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of ten students would very soon supply all that could be required for three missionary stations, constituted as already described; after which, if necessary, the admissions might be reduced. With respect to the English missionary, who should be a clergyman, he would require a salary of 250*l.* per annum, and his assistants from the college from 150*l.* to 180*l.* each, according to the class of persons to which they belonged; or among them 350*l.* per annum—and small dwellings, or bungalows, as we call them in this country, should be provided; of which, however, the original cost is little, and it could not frequently recur. Independently of this charge, and of a small chapel at each station, to be built in due time, which might cost perhaps 500*l.* we should have three missionary stations well provided, at the expense of 600*l.* each, or 1800*l.* for the three: and if these should have the blessing of God, and means were found to extend the system, it might be done almost indefinitely, with a moderate addition of expense, within the college; without any, in fact, till it should be found necessary to increase the number of students.

But in this detail of annual expenditure, which I should hope does not exceed what may be expected from the public benevolence at home, when appealed to by the highest authorities, and assisted perhaps in India, I should

observe, that some time must elapse, even in the most prosperous commencement of the work, before the funds required can be nearly so considerable as I have here supposed. The expense which is to accrue without the walls of the college, could not arise for some time: and even the whole of the charge for students would not be immediate, inasmuch as the professors or teachers must devote some time after their arrival to the acquisition of the languages, before they could instruct pupils unacquainted with English. The establishment would at first consist of the two English professors, perhaps a very few pupils acquainted with our language, two monshees, and a few servants. In process of time, indeed, such an institution might, if blessed by the Almighty, multiply its labours and extend its operations through so wide a field, as to baffle all present calculation of its future wants: but the Society, I apprehend, will not consider this remote contingency as an objection to such appropriation of any resources which Providence may place at their disposal.

No funds, however, can ensure a reasonable prospect of success in such an undertaking, unless the persons selected to execute it have the requisite qualifications. The clergymen sent out to conduct the labours of the college, must possess considerable endowments; he, of course, especially, who is to be at the head of it: they should

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be, if not distinguished for general scholarship, at least respectable divines, acquainted with the Scriptures in the originals; of frugal and laborious habits; and possessing a talent for languages: and without a certain ardour of character, a deep feeling of the importance of the duties committed to them, and a disposition to value success in such an enterprise more than that in any other human pursuit, they would not, I fear, answer the end proposed. The senior should not, I imagine, be more than thirty years of age, and his colleagues might be somewhat younger. With respect both to the professors and the missionaries, I would observe, that temper and manner are here of the utmost importance: the natives require in their teachers great patience and mildness: they do not feel strongly themselves, and they are easily disgusted by any thing like asperity or irritation. I hardly need add, that they should be men of sedate habits and of serious piety: the natives look for these qualities in all, who seem to them to set up for teachers, though they do not find it, or perhaps expect it, in their hereditary priesthood. Vacancies in the professorships should, I conceive, be filled up from among the missionaries, not with reference merely to seniority, but to merit and qualifications.

You will observe, that I have supposed the college to be in the immediate vicinity of Cal-

cutta: several considerations make this expedient. The time appears to have arrived, when it is desirable that some missionary endeavours at least should have a visible connection with the Church establishment: the natives have a preference, all other things being equal, for that which is countenanced by authority: and this seems to point out the propriety of placing this establishment within the bishop's reach (I speak for myself and my successors), that they may in some measure superintend its proceedings, and make it apparent that the propagation of our religion is not a matter of so little interest with us, as to be left entirely to persons whom none of the constituted authorities avow. Supposing the college to be in or near Calcutta, the bishop might act as visitor; but he could not otherwise, in any degree which could be of use.

Another circumstance, however, seems to indicate the propriety of the proposed situation: I speak with reference to the literary labours connected with the college. Translations will require a concentration of all the learning which can be brought to bear upon the subject; and here, if any where in India, is this aid to be looked for: besides that, translators will here have access to books which the college library might not for some time supply. To these considerations I will add what is, indeed, but an indirect advantage, yet ought not to be wholly

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overlooked, that such an institution in or near to Calcutta will attract the observation of our countrymen, serving continually to remind them of the great object to which it is directed, and to interest them in promoting it.

Upon the subject of the vote of credit, I ought to observe, that at the present, and I believe the usual rate of exchange, I should draw upon the society's treasurer to great disadvantage; at this period the loss would be from 12 to 15 per cent. The most advantageous mode of remittance to India is considered to be by the transmission of dollars, when they do not bear a very high price in London.

I have thus complied with the request of the Society in offering them my sentiments upon the subject of their inquiry. In conclusion, I beg leave to add, that the crisis is such as not to admit any delay, which can conveniently be avoided. I regret, indeed, exceedingly, that from my ignorance of the Society's further views, and future resources, I cannot immediately avail myself of their vote of credit for the purposes here detailed; a year is of great importance, and yet a year must be lost. It may appear, perhaps, that the plan which I have recommended is somewhat extensive; no scheme, however, which is narrow in its first conception, or not capable of an almost unlimited expansion, is suited to the temper of the times, or to the circumstances of this country.

Our power is now established throughout this vast peninsula in a degree which, but a few years since, the most sanguine did not contemplate; civilization and religion may be expected in the ordinary course of Providence to follow the successes of a Christian state; and in every view, religious or political, ought we to desire, that the faith adopted, and the opinions imbibed, may attach the people to our national institutions, and more firmly cement the connection of India with the British crown.

I request you to assure the Society of my cordial desire to forward their benevolent designs to the utmost of my power, and that I pray the Almighty to direct them in all their deliberations.

T. F. Calcutta.

1819.

This communication reached the Board in London early in May, 1819, and was received, as might be expected, with the most lively interest. No sooner was the projected institution of a mission college made generally known, than it was eminently honoured by the favour and patronage of the public in England. The King's letter, authorising collections throughout the country, was not issued until after the reception and entire adoption of the Bishop's proposal, nor till his interesting letter had been published, and very generally circulated. The appeal then made was productive beyond all former example.

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The contributions exceeded 50,000*l.* Other religious societies also munificently aided the work. A copy of the Bishop's letter, being communicated by order of the Board to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a resolution was immediately passed in the following terms: "Agreed, that this Board do receive, with the most heartfelt satisfaction, the communication now made through their East India Mission committee, and feeling the strongest assurances that the proposed establishment of a mission college in India, under the superintendence of the bishop of Calcutta, and the extension of the operations of the Society for the diffusion of Christianity in the East, do, under Divine Providence, present at once the most safe and effectual means for the propagation and complete attainment of their object, for which this Society has been long and anxiously labouring; the Board, therefore, do most cordially concur with the recommendation of their East India committee, and agree that 5,000*l.* be accordingly placed at the disposal of the Bishop." The Church Missionary Society also, considering the projected college to be highly important to the Christian cause, promptly added a similar donation, which they requested the Bishop to accept in furtherance of the object: and, soon after, the British and Foreign Bible Society munificently contributed 5,000*l.* towards the expenses of trans-

lating the sacred Scriptures into the Asiatic languages; reserving to themselves no control or inspection of the work, and leaving it to be accomplished solely under the auspices of the Bishop and the superintendence of the college.

In communicating this gratifying adoption of his views on the part of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the secretary further stated the views and proceedings of the Society in advancing the institution which the Bishop had so wisely and judiciously recommended.

TO THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

July 30, 1819.

My Lord,

The proceedings of the Society, on the receipt of your letter of November 16th, which announced the adoption of all those measures recommended by your lordship, have already been transmitted[1]. We have now the honour of inclosing a duplicate, and of stating, in addition, that at the last meeting, application was directed to be made to the Vice-Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, requesting them to make inquiry for persons properly qualified to fill the several professorships in the new college, on the terms recommended in your letter. We have it further in charge from the Society, in order that they may be ready to proceed on their voyage at

[1] In a letter dated May 22, 1819.

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such time as your lordship shall name, to request that your lordship will have the goodness to take such steps as in your discretion you think will be the most effectual in expediting the foundation of the college. The measure is so wise in itself, and is so much approved by the public, as to leave no room for apprehension that funds will be wanting to defray the charge of the buildings, or the future expenses of the establishment; and the Society have so much reliance on your lordship's judgment, that they have no doubt, that whatever you shall think necessary to be done, will meet their entire concurrence.

In this confidence, they are desirous that time should not be unnecessarily lost in references to Europe—it being, in their view, of the greatest importance that the college should be ready for action within the shortest possible period, which the necessary regard to solidity in the buildings, and the formation of the requisite arrangements, will allow.

At the same time they request that your lordship will do them the favour of suggesting, from time to time, such farther measures as may in your judgment be likely to raise the credit and promote the efficiency of the establishment; and they have directed us to express, in the strongest terms, their sense of the judgment and ability displayed in a plan in which they have

...d nothing to mend, and their permanence (E.A.D. XVII. 1809.)
... the same qualities will be exerted with
...l success in carrying that plan into exe-
...tion.

We have the honour to be, &c. &c.

... will here be proper to introduce, by anticipa-
...n, the letter addressed by the Bishop to the
...ty in the November following; which is
...f moment, as shewing the gentlemen he de-
...ed from their approval of his plans—as stating
...the inadequacy of his first estimate of the ex-
...se—as displaying the advantages of the site
...ch he obtained for the building—and, lastly,
...exhibiting his reasons for wishing the ap-
...ntment of three professors.

Calcutta, November 30, 1814.

Honourable Sirs,

...have to acknowledge the receipt, on the 16th
...st. of your letter of the 22d May last, in
...ch you convey to me the resolutions of the
...ty upon the subject of my letter of the 16th
...ember, 1813; and while I admit the satis-
...ion which I have derived, on public grounds,
...m the ready adoption of a plan which, being
...med with a view to the advancement of true
...ion, will, it is hoped, have the blessing of
...d, I am bound in justice to my personal feel-
...s, to acknowledge the high honour conferred

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upon me by the Society's unequivocal expression of their favourable opinion and confidence. It is also highly gratifying to me to learn, from another quarter, that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to whom, in conformity with your second resolution, the plan was submitted, have as cordially approved it, and voted, in like manner, 5000*l.* in furtherance of the object.

I have now the pleasure to acquaint you, for the information of the Society, that through the favour and distinguished liberality of his Excellency the Marquess of Hastings, I have obtained from the supreme government, a piece of land as a site, which, in reference to the purpose contemplated, is not surpassed by any other whatever. In truth, it is the spot to which my attention was strongly directed before I had ventured to indulge the hope of obtaining it. The papers inclosed will convey to you some idea of its locality and form; it has not yet been accurately surveyed, but it will be found, I believe, to contain about twenty English acres. Its distance from Calcutta is hardly three miles, and yet, by being on the opposite side of the river, which is much wider than the Thames at Westminster, but without any bridge, the college will afford to the students all the privacy and retirement which can be desired: at the same time it will be a conspicuous object, presenting itself to the notice

of our countrymen on their first approach to this capital. I have every reason to hope that the situation will be found healthy: that side of the river is generally preferred; and you will observe, that the college grounds will be open to the south, the river in that reach lying nearly east and west. The benefit of this position will be evident, when it is recollected that, during the hot season, from March to September or October, the wind blows constantly from the southward. Close adjoining to the westward, is the Honourable Company's botanic garden, and to its beautiful and shady walks on the banks of the river, the professors will, no doubt, have free access, with the further advantage, in case of sudden illness, of medical aid close at hand, in the superintendent of the garden: nor is it, perhaps, to be altogether disregarded in an establishment of this sort, that the scenery is such as to gratify and soothe the mind. Directly in front of the college will be a fine expanse of water, on which vessels are continually passing to or from Calcutta; and on the opposite bank is the line of villas which adorn the Garden Reach. The ground slopes gently on both sides of the piece of water, which is laid down on the eastern side of the plan: and this water, while it will be ornamental, will serve also as a drain; and it can never stagnate, as it communicates with the river by a sluice, so as to receive a fresh supply at every influx of the tide.

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It may also be expected that the college chapel will afford an opportunity of attending the service of the Church to several of the residents on that side of the water, who are at present precluded from it by the difficulty of crossing the river: they will still, indeed, be at some distance, but by many, it may be hoped, this will not be regarded. The Company's solicitor has been with me this morning to confer with me on the subject of the conveyance; a grant of the land either directly to the Society, or to myself as their trustee, as may be found most advisable, will be completed without delay, and a counterpart shall be forwarded by the first opportunity.

But while I congratulate the Society on this highly prosperous commencement, I must inform you, that the sum which I mentioned in my letter of the 16th November, 1818, as probably sufficient for the erection of the college, is found, on inquiry, which I could not so properly make at that period, to be inadequate, although I am not yet enabled to state precisely what will be required; I have, however, requested an eminent architect to furnish me with an estimate, and I will take care that œconomy be observed so far as may be compatible with the objects proposed, and the permanent interests of the institution. I do not conceive it to be advisable that the buildings should be on the narrow scale which might answer, perhaps, for a mere beginning, when we consider

how extensive is the field of operation contemplated; nor would any thing which disappointed the public expectation, or seemed unworthy of the national effort, to which, in great measure, the institution will owe its origin, be found to prefer a powerful claim to future support. I do not, indeed, consider the first expense of the buildings to be so much an object of calculation and solicitude, as the perpetual maintenance of the establishment in vigour and activity: and when the college shall have been completed on a liberal scale, and its objects shall be generally known and justly appreciated, donations and legacies will, we may trust, come in to the aid of any funds already possessed for its support, and enable it to become a seminary for missions to every part of India.

My views, indeed, of the usefulness of the establishment have not at all contracted since I had the honour of proposing it. In order to its realizing these views, it must be capable of educating pupils not only from the provinces within this archdeaconry, where Hindostanee and Bengalee are the languages principally used, but also in due time from districts where the Tamul, the Teloogoo, the Mahratta, the Cingalese, and perhaps the Malay, and one or two others, are respectively vernacular, that is to say, from almost every part of the continent and islands of Asia, subject to British authority, as contemplated in

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the King's letter: but this will require resident moonshees from the several districts, who shall be competent to teach their respective languages to English missionaries during their residence in college, before they proceed to their stations, and also to assist the professors in conveying instruction to pupils brought from the same countries, as well as in making translations for the use of the inhabitants. But this supposes buildings co-extensive with the objects of the institution: the moonshees must in time be numerous, and the students must be as many as may be required to keep up a supply of native missionaries, catechists, and schoolmasters for all the stations which we may be enabled to support. Our printing establishment must also, after a time, be considerable, and it will form a very important department of our labours. A difficulty, indeed, is sometimes found in the want of proper channels for the distribution of what is printed; but in this respect we shall possess pre-eminent advantages. Independently of our missionaries, &c. we may look to the co-operation of the district committees of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, established at the three presidencies and at Colombo, and more recently at Prince of Wales's Island, in the straits of Malacca, so that every part of India, and the islands, is within the sphere of their agency; and in co-operating with the college in the dis-

tribution of works issuing from its press, they would materially increase their own efficiency. An application from the Bombay committee to the Society has actually been made, in reference to the expediency of printing books in the native languages. The several committees might have Oriental publications from the college on reduced terms, in the same manner that they purchase English books and tracts from the Society in London. The committees would thus be subsidiary to the college, and the college to the committees. The expenditure in the printing department would thus also be lightened, and it might perhaps be even further reduced by taking in printing, for which the customary price would be paid. Considerable funds will obviously be requisite for carrying on such extensive operations; but when it is seen that funds alone are wanting to give life and energy in all its parts to a comprehensive system, of which, however, the objects, and bearings, and mutual dependency, are easily understood, I should hope that public patronage would be granted to the full extent required.

It is my purpose, with the blessing of God, to commence the building as soon as possible; and although a considerable period, perhaps a year and a half, must elapse before the fabric can be completed, I would be permitted to observe, that it is of the highest importance that no time be lost

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in selecting and sending out fit persons to act as professors; and I will add, that even should two of them be already on their passage, they will not arrive too soon. Even then, the college will be ready to receive students quite as soon as the professors shall be competently acquainted with the native languages more immediately in use, and at all at leisure to attend to the instruction of their pupils. And with respect to the third professor, though the business of the college may begin before his arrival, he will be absolutely requisite before it can be carried on to any great extent. On this part, indeed, of the plan, I may not have been sufficiently explicit; and it may be thought that three clergymen can hardly be requisite for the instruction of ten, or even thirty pupils, if that number shall ever be required. It is not, however, merely in the instruction of pupils that the employment of the professors will consist, (though even this will make it necessary that one or other of the three shall possess some acquaintance with every language used in the college;) but the professors will further be called upon to give much of their time to the business of translations, and the senior will be much occupied in correspondence with the missionaries, in receiving their reports, and in arranging the details for transmission to England: besides, that all of them would probably be required to give some attention to the

press, in those languages in which they were conversant, even though an intelligent superintendent had the general management of the whole. Upon the selection of the professors, I have nothing to add to the remarks offered in my former letter: it is only to repeat, in substance, what I then submitted to the Society, to observe, that upon the ability, the zeal, and the piety of these persons, every thing, under Providence, will depend. It is, indeed, desirable that they should be academical men, if any so qualified can be found for the appointments. It would be necessary to defray their passage to this place, and somewhat should be allowed them in advance of their salaries. They would also require an allowance for house-rent till their houses in college were fit for their reception, and it would be proper that I should have notice of their expected arrival.

I am looking with much interest for the further communication promised me in your letter of the 22d of May.

T. F. Calcutta.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Bishop holds his second Visitation in Calcutta—Abstract of his Charge—Embarks for Madras—Letter to the author—Visits the Vepery mission—Visitation and confirmation at Madras—Sails for Penang—Letter to Mr. Ward descriptive of his voyage—Consecration of the church there—Formation of the Penang and Bencoolen district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Letter to Mr. Norris—Sermon at Penang—Returns to Calcutta—Character of archdeacon Loring.

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THREE years having now elapsed since the commencement of his primary visitation, the period was arrived at which the Bishop was again to meet his clergy at Calcutta, and to prepare for the labours of another circuit through his diocese. He accordingly assembled his clergy early in February, 1819, and delivered to them a charge, of which the following is an abstract. It has been thought proper to introduce here the substance of this address, because it fully and distinctly exhibits his deliberate sentiments respecting missionary labours,—formed after the most attentive observation continued for several years,—and shews how admirably he was qualified to illus-

trate that important subject by his knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquity.

His lordship began by remarking that no event had been, apparently, more propitious to the interests of the Gospel, than the acquisition, by a Christian state, of the sovereignty of Hindostan. It must, however, always be kept steadily in mind, that the successes of their country in the East had largely increased the responsibility of the English clergy: and they would but ill understand the extent of their sacred obligations if they contemplated, without any emotions of zeal, the prospect of moral and spiritual good to the people who surrounded them. His lordship then adverted to the subject of missionary labours, which (as he observed) it became every day more difficult to detach from discussions relating to the duties of the clergy in India. The concern that was so deeply felt for the condition of the heathen was, he said, highly honourable to our country, and, at the same time, peculiar to our religion: for Paganism but rarely sought for proselytes, and by Islamism conversion seemed to be valued chiefly as an instrument of conquest. It was, however, deeply to be regretted, that the missionary zeal, which was prompted by the benign spirit of the Gospel, was not always so happily regulated as to produce the highest degree of good. It seemed to be imagined by many, that our present exertions for the diffusion

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of Christianity, were conducted in the spirit of the primitive ages; a surmise which the early history of the Church would shew to be visionary and baseless. By the first preachers of the Gospel the diffusion of their religion was evidently identified with the expansion of the Catholic Church. To begin with the Apostles: missionaries they were, indeed, in the most illustrious acceptation of the word, going forth in the power and spirit of Christ, and establishing churches whose members should know of no separation but that of place. And then, there were Evangelists, who were likewise missionaries in the strictest sense. Their office, as we learn from Eusebius [1], was to preach Christ to those who had never heard of his name, and to deliver to them the Divine Gospels. It is asserted, however, on the same authority, that these men were the disciples of the Apostles; that they laboured not merely to found new churches, but to confirm and to consolidate those which were already planted; and even at the time of which the historian was speaking, the reign of Trajan, the Holy Spirit still wrought mighty works by their hands. Of course they were under His especial guidance; and the original purpose [2] of edification, and unity, and knowledge of the truth, was thus effectually fulfilled. The evangelists, although not confined

[1] Eccl. Hist. iii. 37.

[2] Ephes. iv. 12.

to a certain spot longer than the occasion required, were always recognised as members of the Church, and clearly amenable to its discipline. We learn even from Mosheim, no very strenuous assertor of episcopacy, that the license of the bishop was required to sanction the missionary journeyings of those who were anxious to spread the Gospel among the heathen. Order, therefore, was not, in those times, regarded as an obstruction to the spirit of enterprise, or to the influences of heaven, but rather, perhaps, was reckoned among the tests and evidences of a commission from God.

Another ancient provision for the extension of the Gospel was the appointment of *catechists*. As the Evangelists were sent among distant nations, to whom the name of Christ was possibly unknown, the catechists were to bring into the fold of Christ the heathen who resided in the neighbourhood of any Christian Church. The conversion of these was an object contemplated in every Christian establishment. All who expressed a desire to become acquainted with the Christian doctrines, were considered as standing in a certain avowed and public relation to the Church. Catechisms were compiled expressly for their use: and the catechumens were allowed to be present in the church during the sermon, and while certain prayers were offered for their illumination.

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But all antiquity abounds with circumstances, which shew that the propagation of the Gospel was in close connection with order and discipline. Churches were built under the bishop's sanction, signified by his visiting the spot, and fixing a cross. No clergyman could be ordained but with a specific and local charge. A convert could not be admitted to the orders of priest or deacon, till he had brought over his whole family to the Catholic Church: and one of the canons of the Council of Chalcedon, provides for the consecration and subordination of bishops in foreign parts. Whatever may be the estimate which modern laxity may fix on regulations like these, they still shew what was the spirit of that system, under which our faith was disseminated, and on which manifestly rested the approbation and the blessing of God.

"If it be asked," continued his lordship, "whether, in ancient days, the progress of the Gospel was never embarrassed by schisms in the Church? the answer must be, that although such impediments unquestionably existed, yet they were always deplored as evils of no light moment, and as evidences of a *carnal mind;* and that, at all events, the truth prevailed not *through* the agency of those who fomented division, but in opposition to it, and in spite of it. Besides, it is an important consideration, that the points then in dispute were not of a *practical*

nature, on which all must declare themselves; but, rather, such as would be interesting chiefly to the learned and the studious; and even these differences seldom presented Christianity to the heathen under an aspect of disunion: since each particular district usually maintained the same doctrines. It may, further, probably be true, that religious controversies, not being in those days mixed up with questions of civil right, exercised a much less turbulent influence, than they have since done, over ordinary minds. In modern days the case is widely different. Our divisions, unhappily, involve a variety of questions, the notorious agitation of which must be eminently pernicious in a heathen land. Our controversies relate, in a great measure, to the form of ecclesiastical government, to the authority of religious teachers, and the source from which it is derived, to the lawfulness of bringing infants to Christ in the sacrament of baptism: and these are of a nature so practical and so visible, that they unavoidably present to the observant heathen an unhappy scene of collision and diversity."

His lordship then added, "that, since our system allows all denominations to settle in India, for the purpose of imparting 'to the *native inhabitants*, religious and moral improvement[1],'

[1] 53 Geo. III. c. 155. s. 33.

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it were, at all events, greatly to be desired that the *terms* of this grant should be more strictly observed, and that the labours of the missionaries should steadily be directed to the *native inhabitants*, who can derive no improvement from the English sermons addressed by missionaries to European congregations, or from their unauthorised interference with the duties of the chaplain. To consider a system, of which such proceedings form a part, as the best adapted to the conversion of the heathen, would be, not merely to renounce the wisdom of the Almighty, but to substitute for it what scarcely has the character of ordinary prudence."

That these views of the importance of primitive discipline to the success of missionary exertion, were wholly unconnected with unkind or narrow feelings towards our brethren of different persuasions, will be abundantly clear from the following passage, which is given entire:

"Still it may be asked, is there no way in which the different sects now unhappily dividing the Christian world, may essentially and unexceptionably contribute to the propagation of the Gospel? I should shrink from such a conclusion, however legitimate might be the process by which it might seem to be deduced. I should hesitate to believe for a moment, that laborious, and pious, and benevolent men, of any religious denomination, could be altogether disqualified

for furthering such a work. If they would turn their attention chiefly to the elementary instruction of youth,—to the dissemination of European knowledge and arts,—to the improvement of morals,—to facilitating the acquisition of languages,—to bringing us acquainted with the opinions, and habits, and literature of those whom we wish to convert,—and, generally, to breaking up and preparing the soil for the seed of the Gospel,—they would indeed be valuable auxiliaries to the Christian cause; and the most inconsiderable sect might thus attain a degree of usefulness, if not of worldly renown, which the most prominent cannot hope for in the present state of things."

Before dismissing this topic, his lordship, in allusion to the intended foundation of an episcopal missionary college, announced to his clergy that the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, considering the establishment of episcopacy in India as highly favourable to the design, were turning their thoughts to the founding of Eastern missions; and that, with this view, they had solicited the royal authority for the collection of contributions in the churches throughout England and Wales. Their object, his lordship had no doubt, would be to tread, as closely as times and circumstances would allow, in the footsteps of the primitive Church: and he observed, that if we looked to their

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labours in other parts, it would not be presumptuous to hope that, here also, the blessing of God would attend them.

The Bishop then proceeds to the more general topics of his charge, and he introduces them by an observation of irresistible truth,—that the best allies which the true missionary can desire, are a body of regular and active clergy. "If," says he, "it be possible to conceive a situation in which zeal, piety, and perhaps talents, are thrown away, it is that of a preacher to the heathen, who is labouring to make the heathen believe, in opposition to what they see. *By their fruits shall ye know them,* is a test which the Gospel cannot evade. It is the test which it has itself established,—not indeed of its Divine truth, (for that would be the same, though not a knee on earth should bow at the name of Jesus), but of the reception which it may expect in the world. Here, then, is the proper sphere of clerical exertion. In the most restricted notion of your duties, if you go not beyond the limits of your flocks, you are called upon to take care, so far as may be, that there be nothing within your own fold which may cause the heathen to blaspheme." These remarks were naturally followed by solemn exhortations to personal holiness, and to pastoral fidelity, and by an awful representation of the guilt incurred by a forgetfulness of these sacred responsibilities. That the effect of

these admonitions might not be lost in their generality, his lordship proceeds to insist on various details and particulars of clerical duty. He enlarges most impressively on the enormous evils which must be occasioned by the absence of the chaplains from their stations. In India, such suspensions of duty were unmitigated by the facility of procuring clerical assistance; and could therefore be excused by nothing but sickness or necessity, to be sufficiently certified either to the bishop or the archdeacon. With regard to the celebration of marriage, he reminded the clergy, that it must be held in churches or chapels, if within a reasonable distance, and, in every case, within canonical hours; and further, that the clergy have no authority to dispense with the publication of banns, unless superseded by a license. He then urgently recommended the sick soldiery at the hospitals to the benevolent and pious care of their spiritual guardians: and lastly, having touched on some other particulars connected with the regular performance of their office, he added, "I must repeat, till the admonition be absolutely superfluous, that order and system must in all things be maintained. There is, in the present day, a tendency in the world to neglect or to deny them; but they are of God. They prevailed in the Church in apostolic and primitive times, in a degree which now would be stigmatised as superstition. Without them no-

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thing great or good can be accomplished. They are the principles which hold together the works of the Creator. We find them duly recognised in his word. In matters of religion they are especially required, for God is not the author of confusion in the churches of the saints. We solemnly pledge ourselves to observe them in our ordination vows. In this country the natives have no notion of religion without them. They form, in short, the strength, the whole strength of false religions, and the want of them is the weakness of the true one. Impressed with these truths, you will not fail, by precept as well as by example, to uphold the constitution of the Church, in which you were ordained. Nor is it bigotry which I would recommend: unless, indeed, that is so denominated which is opposed to a torrent of undistinguishing generalities, or to the dogmatism of some aspiring sect."

His lordship concluded this incomparable address by earnestly charging his reverend brethren to take heed to the ministry which they had received of the Lord, that they might fulfil it. Even a small body of clergy, animated by the views and principles which he had displayed, could never be without influence in any region of the civilised world. They would possess an efficiency not, indeed, properly their own, but rather to be regarded as the operation of the Holy Spirit, acting in and through them.

"Commending you, therefore," he added, "to His guidance in all things, I pray that we may be enabled to render true and faithful service to the great head of the Church; and that, having contributed in our stations to promote his glory on earth, we may, in life's last retrospect, give praise unto hm, and, with no reliance but on his merits, hope to be received to mercy."

When the Bishop proceeded on his primary visitation, the Governor-general, it will be remembered, in the absence of instructions from England, had given directions to the governments of Madras and Bombay for the payment of the Bishop's expenses. The subject having, in the meantime, been fully considered by the proper authorities, orders were now given, from the Court of Directors, for the payment to the Bishop of 10,000 rupees, on his visiting the presidencies of Madras and Bombay; a vessel being also provided, at the public expense, for the conveyance of his lordship and his family, and a suitable house at each presidency, furnished for his reception.

On the 12th of February, 1819, the Bishop embarked on his visitation for Madras, accompanied by Mrs. Middleton, and his chaplain, Mr. Hawtayne. On the 27th, he reached Madras, and shortly afterwards he addressed a very interesting letter to the writer of these pages, which is here inserted, as illustrative of

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the complexion of his feelings at the time, and of the various duties which awaited him at this presidency,—it is dated, March 12, 1819.

"You must not infer from my long silence that I am indifferent as to the state of my correspondence. My intercourse with friends in England, is my principal support under discouragements and the depressing influence of the climate. For my spirits are not what they used to be; and I find myself growing more dependent (though it ought to be the reverse) on '*things that are without*:' not, however, from an increasing attachment to the world,—quite otherwise,—but from my extended connection with the world, in the way of duty. Divested of such relations, I could live and die like a hermit; but they crowd upon my mind: *I feel that I cannot do a tenth part of what should be done;* and this feeling is sometimes so prevalent, that it causes me to do even less than might, perhaps, otherwise be accomplished. I know that I ought not to succumb; but no man, I suspect, except from experience, knows what it is to be charged with arduous and undefined duties, and to stand alone, without countenance or counsel, at no less a distance than 15,000 miles. While I was writing the preceding sentence, I received a letter from a remote part of the diocese, stating that there, and elsewhere, the people are living in a state of concubinage, from their inability to

bear their travelling expenses, where the clergyman is, perhaps, 100 miles distant; and thereupon founding an argument for the revival of lay-marriages, such as once prevailed all over India. So here the alternative is, a life of immorality, or the introduction of all kinds of disorder into one of the offices of religion; and I am required to give my opinion, what is to be done. This is a pretty fair specimen of the questions which are continually referred to me; and upon which I am to give my sentiments in writing. Clearly, I cannot authorise lay-marriages; but then it will be said, here is a bishop maintaining the rights of the clergy in opposition to the morals of the people!

"You will perceive that I date from Madras. I arrived here about ten days since on my visitation, and mean to stay, in the whole, six weeks; after which my ship, a very pretty vessel of nearly 400 tons, will carry me across the Bay to Pulo Penang (Prince of Wales's Island); and after staying there a few days, to consecrate a church, hold a confirmation, examine the charity children, &c. &c., I purpose to return to Calcutta; where, if Providence preserve me from rocks and storms, I hope to arrive before the end of May, in time to preach my Whitsunday sermon. I arrived here at a moment of peculiar interest. On the evening of the day on which I landed, Mrs. Elliot, the wife of the

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governor, died; and I buried her the following evening. On Sunday morning I preached and administered the sacrament at St. George's, the principal church; and, in the evening, preached a funeral sermon for this poor lady at the church in the Fort, in which she is interred. The latter is but a small church, and was exceedingly crowded; and I imagine the thermometer must have been at not less than 95°. This day's work was considered here as no small exertion. However, I escaped with nothing worse than a head-ache the following day. During my stay, I mean to preach every Sunday morning, to hold a visitation, and a confirmation, to examine the boys of the school (this was the original of Dr. Bell's system), to consecrate a burying-ground, to preside at two meetings of the district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to apply to the government for some things which are wanting, &c. &c.; so that I shall not want employment, especially as this is the season of Lent, at which much of my time will be occupied at the church. I rather regret that I cannot spare a fortnight for an excursion to the Mysore country. Hospitality is here more *Homeric* than it is in England. As soon as my arrival here (at Madras) was known, the general commanding at Arcot, whom I knew at Bombay, sent me an offer of *half his house*, and all accommodation for myself and party: and at Bangalore,

the officer in command writes to inform me, that he is maternally descended from *two bishops*, and that his wife is from a part of England with which he has reason to believe Mrs. Middleton and myself to be well acquainted. Now Arcot is nearly half way to Bangalore, in the Mysore country, so that, in fact, we should have many comforts throughout the journey: but I cannot spare the time!"

That the Bishop looked back with comfort and satisfaction to his residence at Madras, will abundantly appear from a letter he addressed from that place to his friend Mr. Ward.

Madras, March 25, 1819.

My dear Friend,

Mrs. Middleton has, I believe, already apprised you of our safe arrival, and of our future intended movements. We find our trip thus far very pleasant, and the change of air and scene has done us both good. I preach to a numerous congregation every Sunday, and sometimes twice; though that is very exhausting in such a climate. To-day I have been holding my visitation: and the day before yesterday I confirmed 317 persons, being about forty-five more than on the former occasion; a finer spectacle of the kind has seldom been witnessed. You have, I know, a taste for architecture; and the church is one of the handsomest I have ever seen: nine Ionic columns on each side support the roof; and the

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chunam is so smooth and bright, as not to be immediately distinguishable from marble. Such a building could not be exhibited to greater advantage than on such an occasion; the greatest decency and order prevailed; and the young persons presented to me were of all ranks, from the children of the governor, to the orphans of common soldiers. After the confirmation, I addressed the young people at some length; and having had the address printed, I caused copies to be distributed among them before I dismissed them. Scenes like these, especially in this country, have a benign effect even upon those who are not immediately concerned in them; and certainly the increasing attention among our own people to the ordinances and duties of religion, has a tendency to recommend Christianity, and is not unobserved by the natives. If what is now going on had been set on foot forty or fifty years ago, India would have been in a different state: but then, instead of any thing being done to promote religion, the whole system was such as to operate to the discredit of the Christian name. I much regret that my duties here will not permit us to go out on a short excursion into the Mysore. Bangalore, our principal station in the former dominions of Tippoo, is about 200 miles from Madras, on a high table-land, resting on the eastern and western Ghauts, and as temperate probably as the south of France. As soon as our arrival here was known, I received

an invitation to Arcot, nearly half-way to Bangalore, from the general commanding there, whom I had known at Bombay, offering us his house, and every accommodation and facility; and the same post brought me a letter from the officer commanding at Bangalore, excusing himself for thus addressing a stranger, but informing me that his wife thought I had once resided in Lincolnshire, with which county she was well acquainted, being the daughter of a baronet, who used to reside for a part of the year in the neighbourhood of Gainsborough; and that she would have much pleasure in talking over matters which might be familiar to both of us. I know not how this lady had traced the bishop of Calcutta to the curate of Gainsborough; but it is curious enough, that the woods of Sowerby, her father's seat, (whom, however, I did not know,) were my favourite haunt during the summer of the year that I resided at Gainsborough. There, in a shady recess, where no human being but myself ever intruded, I made myself a seat between three trees; and there, in pensive mood, would I sit for hours together. After a lapse of seven and twenty years, the spot, I dare say, is no longer to be traced; but how wonderful, that after such a lapse of time, the scene should thus be revived in my recollection on the shores of Coromandel!

Your affectionate friend,

T. F. Calcutta.

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In addition to the gratifying labour of the confirmation, the Bishop, during his visit to this presidency, directed and invigorated the operations of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; he exerted himself, with good hope of success, to excite the Vepery press to more than its former activity; he likewise visited the Vepery mission, and dispatched to the parent Society, a statement of its present condition, accompanied with an urgent representation of the necessity for an increase of missionaries. With the native Christians he held a conference of considerable length; and having heard that they still celebrated weddings with processions and music, precisely similar to those in use among their heathen neighbours, he seized the opportunity of administering a paternal admonition against this practice; and represented to them that Christians could not, without scandal, retain the usages of superstition and idolatry.

It may not be improper to mention, in this place, that from a subsequent letter of the Bishop's to Dr. Gaskin, dated 14th of February, 1820, it appears he had the satisfaction to learn that, through the exertions of the missionary Dr. Rottler, this admonition was, at last, effectual, that the objectionable practices were abandoned, and that harmony was restored to the congregation. The rest of the Bishop's time was chiefly occupied, as he had anticipated,

in the visitation of his clergy (to whom he delivered the same charge of which an abstract has been already given), in the inspection of the Male Asylum, and its system of instruction, in the consecration of a church and burying-grounds, and in the composition of a memorial to the Madras government, urging the necessity of a church at Vepery, and an augmentation in the number of chaplains. It is gratifying to know that his representations respecting the former of these objects were not in vain; and that, since his death, the mission church at Vepery has been completed, partly by a donation of 2,000*l.* from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and partly by a grant from the East India Company.

It has appeared above, that the circumstance which compelled the Bishop to deny himself the pleasure of an excursion to the Mysore, was the necessity of going, without delay, to the island of Penang. His interesting and somewhat perilous navigation to that spot is fully described by him to his friend Mr. Ward.

Pulo Penang, May 5, 1819.

My dear Friend,

Though I wrote to you from Madras about six weeks ago, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of writing to you from the Straits of Malacca: the remoteness of the place and the probability

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that I shall never see it again after this visit, make me anxious that you should receive a letter from me written on the spot. In such situations, indeed, I have always felt a desire to communicate with absent friends: and, in this instance, the expectation that a ship will sail in four days direct for England makes the impulse irresistible. Look then in your map for this Isle of Betel Nut (so the Malay name signifies), otherwise Prince of Wales's Island, in long. 100° east, and lat. 5° north: there was I sitting, when this letter was written, amidst some of the finest scenery in the world. Fronting me, at the distance of 100 yards from my house, are the Straits, about two miles wide, and beyond them a range of mountains in the dominions of the king of Queda, a feudatory of the emperor of Siam: their summits, at this moment, (10 *a. m.*) are capt in the clouds, which the sun has not yet had power to dissipate. Close upon my left are masses of wood, piled up on the sides of lofty hills, which slope down to the edge of the water: and on my right is the town, the fort, and the shipping, concealed, however, by an exuberance of trees: in short, whichever way I turn, I have never seen nature in greater beauty. But the price which I have paid for coming hither demanded some compensation: our passage from Madras was by no means pleasant, nor wholly free from danger. We left the roads with

a fair breeze off the land, but the next morning the wind proved adverse, varying from E. to S.E. and of course directly heading us. On the fifth day we found ourselves about 100 miles N.E. of Trincomalee in Ceylon. We had experienced severe squalls for two or three days past, but on the evening of the 20th, my captain told us that something worse was coming, and that we must prepare for a bad night. Every moment the appearance became more threatening; and at half-past six, just as it grew dark, orders were given for dead lights in the poop cabins, and to set the storm-sail. In the mean time the wind blew furiously with rain, thunder, and lightning; and the ship laboured exceedingly: all was noise on board, though I believe there was no confusion. Whilst I was endeavouring to comfort Mrs. Middleton, commending her and my party to the protection of Providence, our little dog jumped upon her lap, as if fully impressed with the terror of the scene, trembling in every joint. The gale still continued, and at four in the morning was at the worst: we were then in a storm of hail, not very usual in these latitudes, and the ship was almost on her beam-ends. I got out on deck and asked the gunner, the first man I met, whether we might hope the wind would abate at daylight; he replied, "Daylight would make no difference; a gale of this sort always lasts four-and-twenty hours:" and with

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little variation he was right. About six in the evening it abated, though the weather was still squally; but the squalls were now in our favour; the S.W. monsoon had set in, and what we had encountered was the commencement or change. By staying at Madras till the middle of April, I had hoped to escape this; but the change this year has been unusually late. We were now to steer for the Nicobar Islands, and to pass round the north side of Car Nicobar: here again was a cause of some little solicitude; for our rate of sailing would bring us amidst a cluster of islands and rocks in the middle of a dark night. Our captain, however, sailed off and on, and very skilfully contrived to have Car Nicobar about fifteen miles a head at break of day. At 10 *a. m.* we had got well round to the northern shore, and not more than one mile and a half distant. Ships frequently stop here for refreshments, and the people are said to be well disposed: but learning that it was their custom to come on board in great numbers, and armed, I desired the captain not to anchor, but to pass on. We had, however, a delightful view of the island for more than two hours: it has no grand scenery, but presents the appearance of great fertility, and abounds in beautiful situations, and slopes, from the sea, of the softest green I ever beheld. The native villages appeared to consist of about half a dozen houses each, stuck in

recesses upon the beach. The houses are of the form of bee-hives, and like them are raised from the ground upon piles or stakes: the entrance is said to be by a hole in the floor. I observed several of the inhabitants running about, dragging their canoes. From Car Nicobar our course lay towards Pulo Bouton, not far from the Malay coast, which is usually made by ships going to Penang. In this neighbourhood pirates occasionally shew themselves; and they never spare those whom they get into their power. On the morning of the day before we reached this place, at about 10 *a. m.* a sail was seen ahead: she was observed to change her course repeatedly, from which it was inferred, that she was not a trader, but a cruiser of some sort: at twelve we neared her, and hoisted our colours, but we could not perceive that she took any notice of them: she still, however, lay in our way, and her conduct was quite inexplicable. We fired a shot at her, an eighteen pounder, which happily missed her. Still she took no notice, but tacked and stood in our course. It was now thought necessary by our captain and his officers to prepare for our defence: we had only two guns, and about nine or ten muskets: these were ordered to be loaded, and all hands to be on deck. But, unfortunately, we were becalmed, and could not stir, and night was coming on. This was the worst part of our case: whatever

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was our danger, it would in a dark night be increased tenfold. My situation was now rather anxious; and Mrs. Middleton's being with me rendered it much more so; although she behaved with great composure. Providentially, however, about five o'clock, a strong breeze sprung up in our favour. I then desired the captain to bear down upon our antagonist, and to bring the question to an issue, while we had daylight. In twenty minutes we were alongside the strange vessel to windward, and within pistol-shot. Our defence was to have been to have fired the leeward gun, and then to have turned the helm, and run our enemy down: we might have suffered in the shock, but that was our only resource. She turned out, however, to be a trader bound from Rangoon, in Pegu, to Penang, and without any hostile purpose, though her conduct was by no means explained. It was now two hours and a half past dinner time; but we sat down very thankful for being thus relieved from our uneasiness.

On the evening of the next day we were at anchor in this beautiful harbour: and some gentlemen came on board to arrange for our landing on the next morning, and going to breakfast with the governor, at his seat, about three miles up the country. On the way, I very narrowly escaped an overturn: one of the horses being taken ill, became ungovernable; I was obliged

to alight during a heavy shower, but was fortunately relieved from my disagreeable position by a gentleman who was going to meet me at breakfast. On Sunday last Mrs. Middleton had a narrow escape from a similar accident on her way to church, both horses having turned round, and got into a ditch. Thus much for adventures. I hope it will please God to give us a safe passage to Bengal, which, however, I find we cannot expect to accomplish in less than eighteen or twenty days: and even then only half my visitation will be performed, Ceylon and Bombay remaining for the latter end of the year. How long I shall be able to go on with these laborious duties, I know not; but they require a considerable degree of strength. Mrs. Middleton and myself were a good deal shattered on our arrival, after such a passage, and some sleepless nights: but we are beginning to recruit. Her health and life are to me almost every thing: she is my constant companion, and I should be nothing without her. Adieu! my dear friend: our united love to Mrs. Ward and the family.

Your affectionate friend,

T. F. Calcutta.

The incidents of his visitation to this island will be best described in his own words to Mr. Norris, in a letter dated, Calcutta, June 18, 1819:

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"The name of Penang is, perhaps, less familiar to you than that of Madras. It is the same with Prince of Wales's Island, and you will find it in the straits of Malacca, in long. 100° 21′ E. and lat. 5° 11′ N. A more beautiful and romantic spot I have never seen. There the Company has a governor and a small establishment, and they have lately built a church. The European population is not more than seventeen or eighteen families. The church has now been consecrated, and an English bishop has holden a confirmation in that remote part of the world: the number was twenty-six, very considerable for so small a society. I preached there on the subject of the Queen's death, and her Majesty's memory has not, I believe, been honoured in this way further eastward; and before I left the place, I established the "Penang and Bencoolen district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," so that now we have a fifth committee in India, and no place is left at which it would be possible, or of the *least use*, to raise your standard. Even at Penang the field of action must for the present be very limited; still, however, I consider it as a matter eventually of some importance to have gained a footing, and to have erected a *Bartlett's Buildings* so far to the eastward. There are a good many Christians scattered among the neighbouring islands, and Christianity may extend in that quarter; and a

favourable circumstance of the case is, that I there met with Sir Thomas Raffles, who is lieutenant-governor of Bencoolen, and a man of great activity and influence in those parts, and he promised me his cordial co-operation, upon which I think I may depend. I made it, therefore, a committee for Penang and *Bencoolen*, where Sir Thomas Raffles will procure a few members. As to Penang, I obtained the support of every gentleman there, from the governor downwards. A donation of 50*l.* from the governor, on behalf of the Company, enabled us to remit 150*l.* and to leave a small balance in hand, and this balance was subsequently increased by a donation on the part of Sir Thomas Raffles to the same amount, to be charged to the Company. It was impossible, therefore, to set out under better auspices. The difficulty will be, as it is, in all these matters, to find activity and energy to keep the machine going. . . . . On the last Sunday of my stay at Penang, which was eighteen days, I addressed the congregation upon local matters: at the governor's request, I shall print my sermon, and send him copies to distribute on the same occasion. I administered the sacrament as a sort of pastoral farewell to a Christian flock whom I can never visit again: thirty persons communicated with me. These, indeed, are incidents of no great importance, but I know that you can enter into the spirit of them. . . . . .

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"Your mention of the National Society reminds me that I have been using my endeavours to promote the use of Dr. Bell's system, both at Madras and Penang. *At the former place, where it originated, it is nearly lost,* and at the other, nothing is known of it, except the name; so I have recommended (and I believe my recommendation will be followed) to have an English master sent for to Madras, and the master at Penang sent to this place, to get the system from the free-school. The school at Penang, like your new committee there, is interesting from its situation; it is an advanced post to the eastward. I devoted a day to examining the children, and giving them rewards, (a task, by the way, which I must perform at the free-school on Wednesday next,) the children there (at Penang) are of all sorts, half-castes, Mahometans from the coast of Coromandel, Malays, and Chinese; and one little man came from the Celebes, and in point of ability was equal to any of them. He had been sent as a present to the governor, and fortunately is in good hands. The children are all quick. Penang is a fine spot for a school, and for diffusing civilization. I hope to get my school into better order, as far as this can be done by influencing those who are on the spot. A flourishing school and a flourishing Promoting Christian Knowledge committee there, would in time become a blessing to the whole Eastern Archipelago. Perhaps

missionaries might be useful there. Some independents from Malacca arrived a little before me. They profess to have no object but native schools. It is curious that in every corner of Asia you find the Church of Rome. There are many Catholics at Penang; *and a Romish bishop (the bishop of Siam) was on his visitation there at the same time with myself.*" Surely the Protestant government of England will be *provoked to* a godly *jealousy* by this last fact! Surely they will not much longer endure to consign their vast dominions to the care of one solitary and overlaboured prelate, while the delegates of the Supreme Pontiff are giving to his power a sort of omnipresence throughout the East!

When viewed with reference to their situations, those eastern settlements seem to offer peculiar advantages for the labours of Christian philanthropy. Bordering close on the shores of the Malay peninsula, and maintaining a frequent intercourse with China, they appear to present an entrance through which the Gospel may, in process of time, win its way to lands now wrapped in the darkness of idolatry.

The discourse with which the Bishop bade farewell to this interesting station was printed at the request of the governor, Colonel Bannerman. It is a very simple, but deeply impressive and solemn address. Its text is Philip. i. 27. "Only let your conversation be as becometh

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the Gospel of Christ," &c. Having shortly adverted to the circumstances under which this epistle was written, the preacher proceeds to remark, that this and similar passages could not be heard by them without some application of them to the condition of persons in India. "There are, however," he added, "circumstances in this Christian settlement which impart to it a more than ordinary interest. What was this island only a few years since, but a blank in the moral creation?" Its hills and forests served only to exhibit to the mariner a scene of wild and cheerless grandeur: no associations dear to the mind were awakened at the approach: the charities and the arts of civilized life were here unknown: here man, even in his rudest state, had no fixed abode. How altered is now the scene! A numerous and increasing population; an active and beneficent government; streets resounding with the occupations of industry; cultivated fields, and thriving plantations; residences bespeaking comfort and opulence; our arts, our language, and our laws, introduced into the remote corner of the East. These surprising changes invite reflection, and cannot be contemplated with indifference. But what is even more to my purpose to remark, and without which, all else were unsubstantial, our Holy Faith is here established, to guide those who know the truth, and to be *a light to lighten*

the Gentiles, if haply they may be turned from their vanities to serve the living God." Having then explained the words of the Apostle, and remarked that, properly understood, they pointed not merely to the individual walk of Christians, but to their lives and principles as members of a social body, he proceeded to consider what are the principles which distinguish a Christian society; and he summed up this part of his discourse by observing, that in such a society, the truth is received and honored *as it is in Jesus;* that all holy ordinances are revered, while secular duties are not neglected; that the Sabbath is really solemnised as a day of holy rest; that they who rule are just and beneficent, while they who are governed yield a cheerful submission; that the relation between the pastor and his flock, is maintained in parental vigilance on the one hand, and affectionate respect on the other; that the rich are liberal, and the poor thankful; that institutions for the relief of misery are well patronised, *and what is much less common, well superintended;* that a friendly intercourse prevails among those of the same class; and that men of every condition faithfully endeavour to discharge the duties assigned them by Providence, whether they be eminent or humble. "I say not," he adds, "that such a community is every where to be found; but this I

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say, that any thing short of it, becometh not the Gospel of Christ."

But, secondly, the Apostle was anxious that his people should *stand fast in one spirit.* Even so was it *his* predominant solicitude that this *little flock* might, by God's grace, resist any attempt to divide it. But, he added, though unity is precious in the sight of God, and lovely in the eyes of man, yet it must be remembered that religious unity supposes that we are really religious, and that better are differences, where all are in earnest, than the mere semblance of Christian agreement, where the great and vital doctrines of the Gospel are forgotten. Against such dangers, however, they were amply provided. They could be in no danger of lukewarmness, as to the doctrines of redemption and grace, so long as they valued the liturgy of the national Church; neither could there be any fear of disunion, while they reverenced her primitive government and discipline.

But, lastly, the Apostle insists on the necessity of *zeal,* as well as faith and unity. He desires that *they strive together for the faith of the Gospel;* an injunction which could not be more effectually obeyed than by an open and consistent profession of the Gospel; by a regular and devout attendance on its public ordinances; by training the children of the poor in the

nurture and admonition of the Lord; and by the support of every design for supplying instruction to the ignorant, and consolation to the miserable. Two institutions they had among them dedicated to these holy purposes, their national school, and their recently established district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. By their zealous patronage of these institutions they might, in truth, most effectually and most blessedly *strive together for the faith of the Gospel!*

In conclusion, he said, "vast as is the extent of this diocese, and various as are the duties imposed on me, I must not hope, even if life be spared me for some years to come, to be an eye-witness of your progress. But though absent, I shall endeavour *to hear of your affairs;* and I trust that what I shall hear will afford me satisfaction and comfort; that so my visit to this place may be associated in my mind with something even more gratifying than your personal attention and kindness—I mean your advancement as a Christian community, and the probable extension, through your means, of the Gospel of Christ. We will now proceed to the table of our Redeemer: to which, as being on the point of leaving you, I have called you by a special invitation, there to draw closer the bands of Christian love, and to ask the succours

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of Divine grace, that we may in all things approve ourselves to God our Saviour."

Such were the words wherewith their spiritual father endeavoured to build up this little commonwealth in righteousness and peace. Happy will it be for them if those words should never be forgotten. They were the last he ever addressed to them. He bade them farewell, and they saw his face no more.

Bishop Middleton had originally intended to have proceeded from hence on his visitation to Bombay and Ceylon, but the favourable season for such a voyage was now passing away; and he was anxious to return to Calcutta, not only on account of much ordinary business, but in expectation of a reply from London to his proposition for a missionary college; which, if approved by the Society, he would immediately commence, by making the first arrangements for the building, before he visited the western parts of his diocese.

Towards the end of May, the Bishop returned from this excursion. His voyage back had been attended with much fatigue and imminent danger, and placed in a more formidable point of view than ever the discharge of the episcopal duties in this country, and *the absolute necessity of their division.* "They expose me," he very naturally and truly remarks, in the same letter,

to all the privations and dangers of a *sea-faring life*. In the winter I must go to Ceylon and Bombay; and thither and back again is a voyage of 5,000 miles, considerably more than the passage across the Atlantic; *so that in one visitation I shall have sailed between* 8,000 *and* 9,000 *miles, which is more than half the voyage to England!* It will be utterly impossible for me to proceed in this manner to the end of my term, unless it be shortened." This impossibility will appear still more striking, when we reflect, that a bishop of India, when he returns from the harassing pilgrimage of a visitation, must return not to repose and relaxation, but to an encounter with difficulties, which have been swelling to a formidable accumulation during his long absence. The cessation of bodily exhaustion is, consequently, followed only by a more severe demand on the mental energies. The weariness of flesh and spirit do but succeed and aggravate each other. The Bishop, accordingly, on his arrival at Calcutta, found abundant reason to deplore the necessity which removed him, for any length of time, from his metropolis. The *res dura et regni novitas* required his continual presence at his post. Every protracted interruption of his personal superintendence, grievously retarded his designs, and impaired his hope of ever giving to the religious movements of his diocese, the full advantage of uniformity and concentration.

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It is true, that during his absence from Calcutta, he was most ably and faithfully represented by Dr. Loring, archdeacon of that presidency; a man of such amiable temper, and substantial excellence of character, as to command the respect of the clergy, and secure the good-will of all classes of society. The mind of Bishop Middleton must have been greatly relieved by knowing that he left the ecclesiastical concerns at the seat of government, under so vigilant, accomplished, and estimable a guardian. This, however, was, after all, only a mitigation of the mischief. There were many evils inseparable from his absence, to which even the virtues and talents of his delegate could supply but a very imperfect remedy.

CHAPTER XIX.

Circumstances connected with the foundation of St. James's church and school—Death and character of archdeacon Mousley—Monument to his memory at Madras—Death of Colonel Bannerman—Letter to archdeacon Watson—Communication from Rev. Mr. Marsden, chaplain in New South Wales—Letter to Dr. Gaskin—Extracts of two letters to Mr. Ward.

On the Bishop's return from Penang, after arranging such business as awaited his decision, one chief object of attention was a design of the greatest usefulness and importance. It is here necessary to premise that, in the months of February and March, 1817, the Bishop had circulated an account of the then distressed state of the Royal Danish mission at Tranquebar, with the view of raising a subscription for its immediate relief, and also of gaining time to ascertain whether, in the event of a complete failure of its resources in Europe, an arrangement might not be made in England for transferring the Danish mission to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Every gentleman to whom the paper was submitted became a

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liberal subscriber; and a sum was placed at the Bishop's disposal amounting to sicca rupees 4,050. Out of this fund the Bishop continued to make remittances to Tranquebar, as occasion required, for about thirteen months; after which the missionaries reported an amendment in their circumstances, sufficient to justify the Bishop in withholding any further remittances, at least for the present, and until they should again be applied for: but still he had no certain assurance till recently, that the Danish government at home had resolved to re-establish the ancient resources of the mission, and to place it in future, beyond the need of casual support in India. Such appeared to be the substance of a statement made by the bishop of Zealand to the bishop of London, who had been requested by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to correspond with the Danish bishop on the subject of a transfer. On this it became the duty of the Bishop to apprise the subscribers that, including interest, there remained a surplus, above the sums advanced by him in aid of the mission, amounting to nearly 300*l.* which would revert to the subscribers or their representatives, in the proportion of their respective contributions; and which he was prepared to refund accordingly. This balance, however, the subscribers declined to receive, and placed it generally at the disposal of the Bishop for cha-

ritable purposes. In addition to this sum, the Bishop had at his command a legacy of 500*l.* which had been left him in the course of the preceding year, by an officer, named Captain Henry Oake, who had lately died up the country, "for the use and benefit of the Christian poor of Calcutta, in any way his lordship might deem most eligible and proper." The manner in which he proposed to appropriate this, will be seen in the following extract from a letter to Mr. Norris, dated Calcutta, September 4, 1819:

. . . . . "The object of my visit to the Governor-general was to get a small spot in the heart of Calcutta for a *National Day School;* and this I am to have immediately. I hope to begin building next month, after the rains. *I have a legacy, for charitable purposes, of* 500*l. and a balance of about* 300*l. from the Tranquebar fund;* and a friend has promised 100*l.* or 200*l.* more, if wanted for my building; and I expect the diocesan committee to pay the master. And thus I hope we shall have a school in the midst of the poorest Christian population of Calcutta."

The population here alluded to consisted chiefly of native Indo-British inhabitants of the suburbs of Calcutta, the children of British fathers and Asiatic mothers: a class who were rapidly increasing in numbers and importance.

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By their distance from the existing churches, and by the appropriation of the sittings there, these multitudes were unhappily shut out from the exercise of public worship; while the want of regular schools for their instruction, either left them in total ignorance, or else exposed them to the danger of imbibing principles of hostility to the government, and of alienation from the national communion. The Bishop was strongly impressed with the conviction that the progress of Christianity, especially among the half-castes, or country-born, in connection with order and submission to lawful authority, as taught in the Established Church, would be among the firmest safeguards of the British power. He, consequently, felt it incumbent on him to make a forcible appeal to the marquess of Hastings, in behalf of these people; and suggested to his lordship the plan of erecting, in the suburbs, a free church expressly for their accommodation, the sittings of which should be entirely open, and also a charity-school for their education, upon the principles of the National Society in England. To both these proposals that enlightened nobleman immediately gave his most cordial and effective support. By an order of the Governor-general in council a sufficient portion of land was granted for the site of a church and church-yard in the eastern suburbs of Calcutta,

on a plot of ground called the Gao Khanu [1], a little to the south of the Madrissa or Mussulman college. At the same time, another spot adjoining the former was conveyed to the Bishop of Calcutta and his successors for ever, by a formal deed of gift, for the purpose of erecting there a charity-school, for the benefit of the same class of persons. It is this school to which the Bishop alludes in this letter, and which was afterwards completed by the name of St. James's school. On the 15th of November, in the following year, (1820) the Bishop laid the first stone of the church, to the honour of God, and of his Holy Apostle, St. James, being attended and assisted on this gratifying occasion, by his private chaplain, Mr. Hawtayne, by the venerable archdeacon Loring, and the rest of his clergy; by Major Phipps, superintendant of the public buildings in the lower provinces, the architect of the church; by Lieutenant Charles Paton his assistant; with several of the principal members of the Society, and a large assemblage of ladies. The progress of the building was, unfortunately, slow, and the Bishop was not spared to witness the completion of this blessed work. When it was finished, Mr. Hawtayne, was licensed to the service of it, a duty which he performed with an

[1] Or "*cow establishment*;" a place where the police establishment of bullocks was kept.

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activity and zeal which entitle him to grateful and honourable commemoration.

In the letter last quoted the Bishop mentions two melancholy occurrences which gave a severe shock to his spirits, struggling as they were against the oppression of accumulating responsibilities. "Three months," (September 5, 1819,) he says, "have not yet elapsed since I returned from my visitation of Madras and Penang, and the two persons with whom I had most intercourse at these places, respectively, (one of them certainly) is now no more. I speak of archdeacon Mousley and governor Bannerman. Of the death of the former I expect to hear every hour, as accounts just received state that he might live a day or two longer, but that his mind was gone: and intelligence from Penang, brought this morning, states that Colonel Bannerman has died of a fever. These are very severe blows to me! Dr. Mousley was one of the most amiable men I have ever known, a zealous and conscientious churchman, a scholar and a gentleman, and so much beloved and respected, that great deference was paid to him even by those who differed from him in certain points." The decease of both these estimable men was announced by the Bishop to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in a letter dated Calcutta, September 21, 1819:

. . . . . "The Society will hear, I doubt not, with deep regret, of the loss which itself and the Church in India have recently sustained, in the death of Dr. Mousley, archdeacon of Madras. He was a man of no common endowments; considerable as a scholar and divine—very eminent as an Orientalist—conscientiously and affectionately attached to the Church of England—of sound and solid judgment—of sedate yet earnest piety—and blessed with a serenity of mind, and a meekness of deportment, such as I have rarely known. This good and amiable man expired, after a short illness, on the 31st of August, aged 47; and the honours paid to his memory, on the day of his funeral, evinced how highly his worth was appreciated by people of every rank at Madras. By myself his loss must long be felt. He was my zealous yet discreet coadjutor in an important part of my charge. CHAP. XIX. 1819.

"The name of Colonel Bannerman is less familiar, probably, to the Society. He was governor of Prince of Wales's Island, or Penang: and he gave me his ready and cordial support in forming a district committee for Penang and Bencoolen, of which also he became the president. A letter, written to me but a month before his death, assured me of his attention to that and other objects in which he knew that I took an interest. In a country where

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good has not yet acquired the stability of system, but is wholly dependent on the activity and influence of individuals, such losses are very discouraging: as, indeed, is the condition of society here, from its being, independently of deaths, in a state of continual fluctuation and change."

Another communication of the Bishop's, dated Calcutta, December 4, 1819, to the Society, will shew the manner in which it was soon proposed to commemorate the excellence and usefulness of the deceased archdeacon.

. . . . . "I believe I mentioned to you in a former letter the loss which this branch of the national Church has sustained in the death of archdeacon Mousley. A subscription has been raised for a monument to his memory, to be erected in St. George's Church at Madras. A committee has been appointed to conduct this business, and they will be enabled to remit 300*l.* to London, with a sufficient reserve for contingent expenses." . . . . . .

The Bishop kindly aided this design by furnishing the following Latin inscription for the monument, to be be executed by Flaxman, and which was afterwards fixed in the principal church at Madras; thus honouring in his death the man whom he had found a faithful and invaluable auxiliary during his life.

Hoc. marmore.
Viri. venerandi. Johannis. Mousley. S.T.P.
Collegii. Balliolensis. olim. Socii.
Primi. Archidiaconi. Madrasensis.
Memoriam. servandam. voluit.
Suamque. pietatem. tradendam. posteris.
Cœtus. Christianorum. Madrasensium.
Is. fuit. oris. vultusque. habitus.
Ea. sermonis. et. gestus. verecundia.
Quæ. divinius. quiddam. et. vere. Christianum.
Præ. se. ferebat.
Eruditio. varia.
In. literis. sacris. sane. magna.
In. orientalibus. summa.
Ad. vitam. umbratilem. natura. comparatus.
Ad. negotia. tamen. nec. segnis. nec inhabilis
Judicium. sanum. exquisitum. perspicax.
Mens. constans. rectique. tenax.
Ecclesiæ. Anglicanæ. si. quis. alius.
Fidus. alumnus.
Cujus. jura. et. auctoritatem.
Ea. sustinuit. comitate. et. prudentia.
Ut. apud. invidos. invidiam. non. conflarit.
Faventes. acriore. studio. devinxerit.
Lethali. ingravescente. morbo.
Summis. doloribus. affectus.
Nihil. se. pati. professus. est.
Nisi. quod. juvante. Deo.
Saluti. conduceret. æternæ.
Animam. Christo. reddidit.
Die. xxxi. Augusti.
Anno. Redemptoris. MDCCCXIX.
Ætatis. XLVIII.

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The appointment of a successor to the archdeaconry rested with the Bishop, and this was the first occasion on which he had been called on to exercise this, the only patronage permitted him. It was allowed him to select any one of the Company's chaplains in India; but he thought it right, in this instance, to make his selection at Madras. The chaplain, however, so nominated, was to recommence a period of fifteen years residence in India, to entitle him to the archdeacon's pension. No provision was, as yet, made for considering any former term of service as a chaplain. It was not easy, therefore, to find a clergyman, who had resided any time in India, willing to forego the advantages to which he would be entitled in the Company's service, and to commence a fresh term of so long a period. To appoint a very young man, and place him at the head of the clergy, would evidently be highly inconvenient. After some delay, the Bishop nominated the Rev. Edward Vaughan, the senior chaplain at Madras, who had already completed the term of service required by the Company, and whose health being good, felt no objection to a longer residence in India.

In the letter to Mr. Norris, already cited, (after dwelling, in detail, upon a variety of perplexing questions, of an ecclesiastical description, respecting which he was left so entirely

destitute of assistance and advice as *to "feel as if he were sent on a forlorn hope,"*)—the Bishop concludes with expressing some anxiety as to the probability of his obtaining leave of absence for a time, in case the state of his health should render it necessary. "It is right," he says, "that I should enquire, and provide against the contingency of its being indispensable to save life." And independently of this, he adds, "*I am convinced I could do more for India in one year passed in England, than in five passed here.* In truth, the period of service of the first bishop ought to be thus divided: a part of it for reconnoitring and gaining information which is not to be had in England—a visit to England, in which this information should lead to a right system—and a second residence in India to carry the system into effect. And then, the second bishop would find his course tolerably smooth, and his whole time might be dedicated to pastoral and missionary duties, *instead of wasting himself in constant struggles to stand his ground.*"

The following extract from a letter of the Bishop's to Mr. Clarke, (the incomparable secretary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge at Madras) is inserted here, both for the purpose of shewing the constant and lively interest with which the Bishop watched over the southern missions, and of doing justice to the

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amiable and worthy chaplain, Mr. Hough, who was labouring in the same cause.

Calcutta, October 26, 1819.

The Society, I conceive, are under much obligation to Mr. Hough for the attention which he has paid to their concerns in Tinnevelly; and very gratifying, no doubt, will be the representation which he has furnished of the happy state of the native Christians in the district within his observation. But still more valuable is the testimony of such an observer, as it holds out an incentive to Christian zeal, by pointing to its actual and blessed fruits. Mr. Hough's suggestions for the improvement of the condition of Christians seem very deserving of attention; and in those which require only the payment of a moderate sum, I would venture to anticipate the Society, if my balance of credit with them, or even more, were not already pledged.

T. F. Calcutta.

In this same month, October, 1819, the Bishop addressed a very long letter to his friend archdeacon Watson, full of the animation inspired by the project of a mission college, which then had complete possession of his mind. This letter embraces a multitude of details, which may be more advantageously noticed in the sequel of this narrative. There are, however, some portions of it which could not be omitted here

without injustice to the ardent piety, and enlightened zeal, which then gave life to his exertions in behalf of this great design. It will, of course, be recollected that, at this time, he was not apprised of the splendid support which his project received in England.

"I have already hinted that the college should be a joint concern of the two Societies: but I speak not merely with a reference to the alleviation of the burthen; such a junction would give it additional dignity and efficiency, as it would then be a monument erected by the two great Church Societies, and would carry with it the weight of their combined influence. But even that is not the whole; upon what ostensible ground can the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge keep back? especially after the grand *exposé* of her views given by Dr. Wordsworth [1]. Let the missionaries of both Societies issue from the same school, it will produce an unity of design; all will have passed through the same noviciates, they will be known to each other and to their head; and by their communicating with each other, and with the master of their college, we shall gain such a body of information, the result of individual experience, as has not, perhaps, ever yet been brought together, and which is of the highest

[1] Charge to Messrs Haubroe and Rosen before the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, January 29, 1819.

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importance in a plan of extensive operations. . . . . Something, indeed, of this sort must be done upon any plan; but to be done with any great effect, we must act upon a large scale, and it is in the power of the two Societies, to act upon a scale, such as is hitherto quite unexampled in the *Protestant* world; for, *Protestants* as we are, it were bigotry to deny that the *Church of Rome,* (notwithstanding that she may have exaggerated her successes) has done wonders in the East; and we must consent in this, as in other things "*ab hoste doceri.*" But it is not *merely* with reference to India that I recommend this plan, nor am I unmindful of the resources which it will demand; they will be considerable, but you will obtain them. Such an undertaking will tend to exalt the Church throughout the empire. It will not only remove a reproach, whether just or unjust,—it will do more—it will place her in an attitude such as no Protestant Church has assumed, and which will not have the less effect from being unexpected. Subscriptions, and donations, and legacies, will, no doubt, come in, in support of a collegiate missionary establishment in India. Already, I think, I collect from the periodical publications, that, though nothing specific was, or would be, known in March or April last as to the course of proceedings, the Church seems to have risen in estimation, from its being evident that something would be done. I see, with satisfaction, addresses

in her behalf from quarters where, perhaps, it was not to be expected.

"But now let me remark, though at the hazard of repetition, that money will do nothing *without men.* We must have able instruments, such as I endeavoured to describe in my letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; or, more concisely, *with heads full of sense, and hearts full of zeal.* Weak men would be absolutely good for nothing: of course, I mean not merely those whose weakness is very obvious, but men, who cannot deliberate and observe, and adapt measures to circumstances. They should also have some literary talent: they will be required to learn languages, to compose elementary treatises, and to translate the Scriptures. But still all the good sense in the world, and talents the most powerful, will do nothing without an inextinguishable ardour in this holy cause. *They must account it gain, though at any cost, to be the means of bringing over men to Christ.* All their talents, and all their understanding, must converge, as it were, to that one point; it must be the focus of all their deliberations, and endeavours, and desires: and I would venture to suggest that a little excess on the side of zeal, should be no disqualification. *We must all of us, more or less, be animated by a missionary spirit.* As to myself, though I do not preach to the heathen, I am ready always

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to give an answer to any of them that ask me; and encourage such visits, as far as my positive engagements will allow. Send me out then, at least, *two* clergymen of the Church of England, as *soon as possible*, and *three* if you can, to be the master and professors. If a letter should come, authorising me to begin building, the college will be finished by the time they could have made much progress in Hindoostanee and Bengalee, even though they come out within three months after my letter. I would take care to provide them accommodation. Pray urge this point among your friends, not forgetting your valuable brother. I rejoice to see in some of the magazines, that a legacy of 20,000*l.* three per cents. has been left to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, by a clergymen in Essex. Surely some part of this will come to India!"

Another extract from this letter will shew that, although New South Wales was not yet within his diocese, as it subsequently was[1], the Bishop of Calcutta was not wholly without opportunities of being useful, even to that remote settlement.

. . . . . "I have lately had a letter from the Rev. Mr. Marsden (the chaplain at Sidney) applying chiefly for school-books. I shall, therefore, on Monday next, move that he be

[1] By letters-patent, October 2, 1814, 5 Geo. IV.

supplied with the National Society books, and we shall thus, I trust, do some good even at Botany Bay. . . . . Mr. Marsden says, the greatest boon I could bestow upon that settlement would be a good schoolmaster. But he says nothing about the means of supporting one, nor whether Governor Macquarrie would receive and uphold him, without which, the attempt would be useless. It would certainly be a fine thing to have the national system there in full force. Mr. Marsden tells me there are in the colony 5000 children, born of European parents, and at present under the tuition of very incompetent, and not very moral teachers. I will not lose sight of this matter, though I do not, at a single glance, see how it is to be managed. Mr. Marsden writes like a man who will readily and thankfully accept any assistance from me; so that I do not expect any opposition or untowardness in that quarter. I believe, however, that New South Wales is, by courtesy, if not by law, in the diocese of London, and I am no friend to intrusion." . . . . . "I see,"—continues the Bishop—"in the Christian Observer, that the Pope is sending out an Irishman, (the Rev. Miles Prendergast) to be bishop of Malabar, *with twenty missionary priests!* This is a masterstroke of policy. An Irishman and an Englishman are, in this point of view, the same thing. We are here the dominant power; and an

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English Popish bishop will do more for the Church of Rome than a dozen Portuguese."

The subjoined extracts from a copious despatch, addressed by Bishop Middleton to Dr. Gaskin, will be perused with interest, as referring to a variety of important objects which then, and continually, demanded his care and exercised his sagacity; and more especially, as containing an ample development of his motives, for his continued urgency respecting the scheme of a mission college :—

Calcutta, November 1, 1819.

Reverend and dear Sir,

I wrote to you last by the ship *Lang*, at the latter end of September; and, among other things, I stated that the 1000*l.* granted me, on credit, by the Society, on my leaving England, was nearly exhausted; and I also intimated the probability that I should be obliged to overdraw my credit, and to ask for an indemnity. The circumstances are the following. In my letter from Madras in March last, I informed the Society that I had advanced to archdeacon Twisleton 1000 rupees, to enable him to print a large edition of the book of Common Prayer in Cingalese, which is the vernacular idiom of perhaps three-fourths of the island of Ceylon. According to the estimate sent to me by archdeacon Twisleton, this sum was to defray the whole

expense; and though, perhaps, I ought to have demurred to the cheapness of the contract, which did indeed strike me at the time, I did not, (considering that full two months are required to receive an answer here from Ceylon,) make any objection, but concluded that printing might be cheaper at Ceylon than at Calcutta. When the work, however, was half completed, archdeacon Twisleton discovered that the estimate was for printing only, and that the paper would be a separate charge. The consequence is, that not less than 2500 rupees more will be wanting to complete the undertaking; and that I might perhaps have hesitated to embark in it at this expense: yet when the work has advanced so far, it is better to complete it, than that the preceding expense should be wholly thrown away. Still, however, it will be a great work for the Society to have accomplished;—1000 copies of a complete version of the Common Prayer into Cingalese, in a handsome quarto, on good paper, and, I hope, well executed. I have also made the Society instrumental to a version of the Common Prayer into Tamul,—a very beautiful book,—by taking of Dr. Rottler, the translator, copies to the amount of 120 pagodas, (48*l.*) and half that quantity on my own account, both of which I have ordered to be distributed among our native Christians in the south. Two good versions of the Common Prayer, will be a considerable contribution towards the Christian literature of

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the country; and I shall rejoice to see others, when they can conveniently be made. In my last I requested you to pay to Mr. Ward, my agent, 116*l.* 19*s.* 4½*d.* being the value of sicca rupees 935, 12*d.* paid to the Madras district committee, to enable them to set the (Vepery) press to work again. I will thank you to add to it the 48*l.* above-mentioned: and also 40*l.* 5*s.* being, as I learn from the Society's report for 1817, a contribution from certain gentlemen at Norwich, to be applied by me as I may judge most conducive to the interests of Christianity in India. This is the only intimation I have received of it. The precise application of this sum shall be notified to the Society for the information of the donors, when the appropriation shall have been made. Having passed many years of my life at Norwich, I trust that I am permitted to consider this donation somewhat in the light of a memorial of the place, and a testimony of good-will from persons, whose names, however, are not declared. These sums amounting to 205*l.* 4*s.* 4½*d.* you will be pleased to pay to Mr. Ward.

I send you, by this conveyance, copies of a correspondence with the Madras district committee, and also a very interesting letter from the Rev. Mr. Hough, the chaplain at Palamcotta, whose suggestions I beg leave to recommend to the Society, especially that which relates to sending a missionary to Palamcotta,

for which the present number of missionaries is insufficient. In truth, more missionaries should be sent out, or we may expect to be again in the same difficulties as before. Dr. Rottler is very old; Mr. Kolhoff's best years are past; and Mr. Holzbergh, I fear, is not, and never can, be efficient. For some time, till within these six months, we had a chaplain at Cuddalore, who is said to have interested himself in some schools there, which, however, have since declined; but we must expect, in the present state of this country, that where we are not in a state of activity, others will enter into our labours.

The letter of the Madras district committee addressed to me, and sent herewith, embraces some matters of importance. Upon the inadequacy of the salaries paid to our missionaries, I wrote to you from Madras. We do not, in truth, pay so well as other societies; and our missionaries may plead necessity, if they devote to other concerns a portion of their time and attention, which should be given wholly to their mission. If they do their duty, they have ample and constant employment; and I would suggest that the salaries should be raised, and that every missionary should, on his appointment, engage neither to seek nor to accept other emoluments. I would also beg leave to suggest that the salaries should be paid, not in arrear, but half

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yearly in advance; inasmuch as the missionaries cannot be expected to have any thing before hand, and all salaries in this country are received monthly: yearly and half-yearly payments in arrear are quite unknown. As to the mode of payment, it might, perhaps, be as well to pay the missionaries through the Madras district committee; and to invite the committee to suggest any consolidation of the mission funds, which they may hold to be conducive to an extension of the general benefits of the mission. It were undoubtedly ungracious to withhold from such a committee as that at Madras, (which, in point of activity and lively interest in the Society's concerns, has probably no superior,) any extension of its powers: but I am not quite sure that it would be prudent to do any thing which might give to the committee the appearance of being closely and directly connected with the conversion of the natives.

. . . . . Perhaps it might be well, in reply, to state, (supposing a new vote of credit to me) that the Bishop is empowered, by a grant of the Society, to enable the missionaries to improve their schools, to carry on the press with activity, and to aid any works in furtherance of the Society's designs, which the committee, from their local knowledge and active interest in the cause of religion may be pleased to recommend to him . . . The committee are

entitled to the highest respect, and the secretary, Mr. Clarke, is a man of great ability, and we owe much to his activity and judgment. Means will, of course, be taken for the more regular payment of the missionaries.

I am in daily expectation of hearing from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and I should rejoice to find that the two societies have concurred in the scheme which I had the honour to recommend to the former, in answer to a direct application from the secretary. My opinion from the first has been that it should be a joint concern: although I could not, with strict propriety, state this officially in my letter to Mr. Hamilton: still I am not without ground of hope, that the measure may have been suggested and adopted. Your missionary establishment in the south might thus, in a few years, supposing no difficulties to arise in the way of ordination by the bishop, become a genuine Asiatic branch of the Church of England: you might also extend your missionary exertions to other parts of India. Missionaries are wanted at this place exceedingly, if it were only to conduct, and extend our native schools; the whole labour of which falls upon my chaplain, who is also the secretary of the diocesan committee, and will shortly, I trust, be engaged also in other very important duties; though in all of them he is

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interrupted by long absence, on my visitations. It would also enable you to meet the suggestion of archdeacon Barnes, which I entirely approve, as to printing tracts in the native languages; and your district committees, which are now established from Bombay on the western side of this diocese, to the Straits of Malacca, eastward, would afford admirable facilities of distribution: the Church would thus, also, be enabled to act upon a grand scale, such as no Protestant Church has ever attempted. The first expense too of a complete missionary establishment, (probably including the printing-office, about 10,000*l.*) would, when thus divided, become light for such an establishment. I have obtained a commodious, ample, and retired site within three miles of this city; and I wait only for authority from home to begin the building. Of one thing I feel certain, (though I should offer the opinion with great diffidence, considering how very competent the Society is to form its own judgment in the case,) that a great collegiate institution, near this capital, supported by two great societies, which yet in origin and in sentiment are but one, and directed to the sole object of propagating pure Christianity and all subsidiary knowledge, and carried on by able, laborious, and pious men, yet acting within itself, and in all its ramifications, upon the same system;—such an institution, I am

firmly persuaded, would never want funds, when it was once fairly established and brought into action: and then, though not probably before, it would derive some assistance from India. . . .

We have had a larger demand for Bibles than was contemplated. Perhaps the Society will oblige us by adding to the list of books, to be sent out at the beginning of the next year, a quantity of Bibles. But Mr. Hawtayne will write to Mr. Parker on this subject. It may be satisfactory to the Society to hear that our books have been lately in great request; that a considerable quantity consigned to the Rev. Mr. Fisher, the chaplain at Meerut, near Delhi, have nearly all been sold, and that supplies have lately been voted to Penang, New South Wales, and the descendants of the mutineers of the Bounty, settled at Pitcairn's Island, in the Pacific Ocean.

I am, reverend and dear sir, &c.

T. F. Calcutta.

This chapter shall be concluded with two short extracts, from his correspondence with Mr. Ward: the former of which, more especially, is recommended to the attention of those, who, whether in Europe or in Asia, form great expectations of the improvement of mankind from the influence of knowledge when divorced from religion.

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Calcutta, November 5, 1819.

My dear Friend,

. . . . . I suppose that long ere this it is known in England what the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel means to do with the money collected under authority of the king's letter. I have advised a mission college, or seminary, upon a considerable scale. This advice, I have little doubt, will be followed; and I am ready prepared with a site worthy of any establishment that can be desired,—a piece of ground upon the banks of our majestic river, within three miles of the capital, adjoining the Botanic Garden, which resembles an English park, and directly opposite the magnificent villas of Garden Reach. If this can be well established, it promises, with the Divine blessing, to be an honour to our Church and nation, and essentially to advance the Christian cause. A great deal, in truth, is going on here in the minds of the people; but knowledge, or at least a smattering of every thing, is, I suspect, making a much more rapid progress than religion. I expect that, in a few years, we shall be overrun with small philosophers and politicians; and then, if the country is in danger of being lost, the blame will be laid upon Christianity, which will be wholly unconcerned in the mischief, and is the only thing which could have averted it. People here

argue as if mere secular knowledge will lead to Christianity, as a matter of course. I do not collect any such result either from Scripture or experience,—it leads much more naturally to something else. A Hindoo deist was asked the other day, if he did not wish the English out of the country? His answer was, "I wished you out of it twenty years ago—you did nothing for us; but as you are going on now, I wish you to stay twenty years longer, and then the sooner you are gone the better." However, I hope that Christianity will yet be diffused in time to prevent the evils which superficial knowledge must ever produce, unaccompanied with religious restraint.

Mrs. Middleton and myself, for the time, have, we bless God, escaped autumnal fevers. My sight, however, is much impaired—I cannot see by candlelight.

Ever your affectionate friend,

T. F. Calcutta.

Calcutta, November 23, 1819.

My dear Friend,

. . . . . The grant[1] of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is, as you say, a noble one. The Society for Propagating the Gospel

[1] The intelligence of this grant was received by the Bishop on the 16th of November, 1819.

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had already voted me a similar sum; and out of these I am about to build a college, which, I trust, will be an honour to our Church, and the bulwark of the Christian cause in this country. I have obtained for the college an admirable site, within three miles of this busy capital, but in a spot as retired as any village within twenty miles of London; and there, I hope, men of learning and piety will be labouring to disseminate the blessed faith and surer hope of Christians, and will send forth their scholars throughout the eastern world, when he who projected the fabric shall be mouldering perhaps within its walls. To complete this institution, and to bring it into active operation, will probably cost me from five to seven years more of life; though it were almost presumptuous to look forward to such a period. It seems, in such a scene of mortality as we have lately witnessed, to be an especial mercy of Providence, that during the whole autumn, no sickness has visited my dwelling; except, indeed among servants, who do not here live in the house. If amidst these dangers, I should survive till my work is pretty well advanced, I do not think it quite impossible that my residence here should be abridged. At present, however, I should be unwilling to quit my post: my duties are interesting and important, and I feel that my heart is in them: nor am I at present sensible of any material decay, unless indeed that my sight grows

indifferent; but unhappily in this climate a man breaks down all at once. He may attain to the age of fifty or sixty without ever having had a serious illness; and then, on sending for his physician to relieve what he supposed to be a slight complaint, he is told that he has no time to spare, but must embark for the Cape or England.

I am glad that St. Pancras church is begun: had this happened in my time, I suspect I should never have had any thing to do with building a college in India; but I doubt not that all things are ordered for the best. I am sure that half my disappointments in life have proved mercies and blessings. Farewell! my dear friend, and believe me,

Ever yours affectionately,

T. F. Calcutta.

CHAPTER XX.

Conversion and baptism of a native at Meerut by the Rev. Henry Fisher—Misunderstanding between military and episcopal jurisdiction—Notice of Propaganda by the Rev. J. Pratt—Communication with Greek Christians—Extracts of correspondence with archdeacon Barnes, and with Mr. Ward—Awful thunder-storm—Duty of chaplains to visit military hospitals—Proposal of marriage act for India—Letter to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge on the southern missions—Transfer of the Danish missions in Tanjore—Donation of Tamul prayer-books from Sir Robert Brownrigg—Letter from the Rev. J. Hough on the the Society's missions—Letter to Mr. Norris—Free-school at Calcutta—Project of the Governor-general for building a cathedral and bishop's house at Calcutta.

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THE movements thus making in the southern and western parts of Hindostan, in furtherance of the great cause of religious truth, seemed to be now also beginning to operate in the north.

In the month of December this year, a most interesting communication was addressed to the Bishop, by the Rev. Henry Fisher, the chaplain of Meerut, a large military cantonment, not far from Delhi, under the presidency of Bengal. It appears that a soldier of the native infantry

stationed in that neighbourhood, had been converted to Christianity; an incident which seems to have been productive of some jealousy among the military authorities. A representation of the matter was accordingly transmitted by Major ———, commanding that corps, to the commander-in-chief at Calcutta; and the affair was displayed in such a light, that the marquess of Hastings thought it necessary to refer it to the official consideration of the Bishop. His lordship immediately called upon Mr. Fisher for a full statement relative to this occurence, and the answer of that gentleman is here inserted. It presents us with an affecting instance of the power of Divine truth on a simple, honest, and courageous heart; and it places in a somewhat curious light "the fears of the brave and the follies of the wise!"

Meerut, December 14, 1819.

My Lord,

Having had the honour to receive your lordship's communication respecting the conversion and subsequent baptism of Matthew Pirbhoodeen Naick in the 25th Bengal native infantry, I beg leave, in cheerful compliance with your lordship's request for full information upon the subject, to state the following particulars.

Could I have imagined it possible that Major ——— had written so intemperate a record

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of the transaction, I must have felt it an incumbent duty to address your lordship long ago: but as that gentleman assured me, in reply to a note of mine, that he had merely related the fact in compliance with what he felt to be *his* duty, and gave me no intimation of his having proffered any alarming prophetic conjectures of his own, I could anticipate no consequences of an unpleasant nature, and therefore did not think it requisite to address you on the subject.

I believe your lordship is already fully aware that, since my residence at Meerut, I have had abundant occasion to observe a strong spirit of enquiry prevalent amongst many of the natives as to the nature of the Christian religion. *Unsolicited and unsought wholly on my part,* numbers, both of Mahometans and Hindoos, frequently visit my house for the purpose of begging (if unable to purchase) our Scriptures in the native languages, or to enquire into the meaning of different passages which awaken their curiosity or excite their feelings. The interesting result has been a certain degree of intimacy between us, and, in some few instances, the ultimate conversion, baptism, and consistent Christian deportment, of those who have joined themselves to our Church. One of these men (whose uprightness and competent abilities qualify him for the office) is employed by me to conduct this little church under my eyes and direction,

which he does with considerable zeal and talent. His name is Anand Messee. In his absence, in occasional missionary labour amongst the Saadhs (to whom he is particularly acceptable) my moonshee, Mooneef, a very exemplary Christian, takes his place. Part of the daily occupations of this little party of native converts is to read the Scriptures in their own apartment, an old convenient room over one of the gateways of the city of Meerut. Of course, this is free of access to every voluntary visitor. Their congregation of hearers varies much in numerical strength. Sometimes they have six or seven, sometimes twice the number. Among the occasional visitors at this place, the soldier in question frequently made his appearance, and ultimately requested to be introduced to me. His visits were frequent; and the decided change of his opinions, and, I trust, of his heart, marked and satisfactory. I found he had been labouring under a deep conviction of the worthlessness and wickedness of his heathen ignorance and idolatry for NINE YEARS; that, when he went with his regiment to the Isle of France, he used to watch for opportunities to steal into the Christian Church, and strive to worship the Christian God in *spirit*, though ignorant of the meaning of their language or of their forms, and could only comfort himself with the conscious reflection that God knew his heart.

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He longed to meet with some one who should be competent to teach him; although many fears of consequences both of a temporal and spiritual nature frequently distressed him. He, at last, determined to speak to a Christian clergyman, to unfold the state of his soul. The opportunity as he thought had not occurred till he came to Meerut; and he considered it in answer to his imperfect prayers, that the providence of God had brought him here.

As soon as the Brahmins of his corps were apprised of his intentions to become a Christian, they manifested extreme sorrow for what they conceived to be his folly, by kind remonstrances. They pointed out to him the perilous consequences, the loss of his high and honourable caste, the consequent rejection of all his friends, the certain displeasure of government, who would, as they told him, certainly turn him out of his situation for becoming a Christian; so that he would leave every thing dear to him in life, and even his bread. He replied, that he believed that Jesus Christ would be the friend of all who trusted in him; that Christian caste was more honourable than all others, because they were the people of the true God; that his being a Christian could not make him a *bad soldier;* and that he did not think government would cast him off any more than they would other non-commissioned officers, such as the serjeant-major, and the quarter-master

serjeant, who were Christians; and the drummers were Christians; and why should he be punished unless he did something wrong? The Brahmins then proffered to bribe him, by settling upon him for life a monthly pension of twenty rupees, which he instantly rejected, saying, that he believed that Jesus Christ would provide for him sufficiently, not only in this life, but for ever. Finding him determined, they vilified his character, representing him as a drunkard and a glutton, and ultimately as *insane*. I conclude that these absurd stories were believed by some of the officers of his corps; for I learn that a court of enquiry was instituted into the man's conduct. The result was, however, the most satisfactory evidence of his having ever conducted himself, not *merely well*, but in a most exemplary manner, and that he was a particularly smart and fine soldier. He was baptized by me, at his own *unsolicited request*, (which I beg your lordship will have the goodness to observe) on the 20th of October, in the presence of the other native Christians, and one or two friends of mine, previous to his departure on some regimental duty, being apprehensive he might not return to Meerut; and here the business ended. The Brahmins ceased to trouble him, and the only symptoms of "*consternation*" which Major ——, in the plenitude of his zeal pathetically laments, is this; he eats his meals by himself, barred from

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admission within the magic circle with which the Brahmin entrenches himself. In every other respect he still remains the same,—a steady man, a good soldier,—except that he reads his Bible, and prays to the one Eternal Jehovah through Jesus Christ. I trust this plain unvarnished statement to your lordship will place this matter in its proper light, and be a sufficient proof that the intemperate and irritating representation, which Major ——— has thought proper to transmit for the information of government, is utterly unwarranted by the circumstances of the case.

I will take care and attend to your lordship's desire, that the registers are in future forwarded half-yearly. I should esteem it a favour if your lordship will communicate to me the result of the proposed investigation into the circumstances of Matthew Pirbhoodeen's story.

I am, with respectful and sincere regard,
Your lordship's
Faithful and most obedient servant,
HENRY FISHER.

In the midst of these nobler cares, the Bishop was sometimes encountered by such strange and anomalous obliquities of opinion, as would have been almost laughable, if they did not indicate a state of mind, which threatened him with incessant difficulty and vexation. He was one day

asked with all imaginable gravity, by a sensible man, and a Churchman too, whether his new college was to be a branch of the Baptist establishment at Serampoor! A much more serious annoyance was, that he had, occasionally, to contend with men who seemed to prefer military to episcopal jurisdiction. He mentions, in his correspondence, that he was one day surprised by the receipt of a letter from one of the chaplains, accompanied by a request that his lordship would forward it to the government; and the purport of this notable application was, that the government would be pleased to define the boundaries between the ecclesiastical and military jurisdiction over the clergy; as if, says the Bishop, the government had any power to give an authoritative interpretation to the letters-patent, or the officers of the army had any ecclesiastical control over the ministers of the Church! The Bishop, of course, declined to transmit this paper to the government. Nevertheless, it appears that this very man, having afterwards obtained leave of absence from his own station, and being on a visit at another, where there was a licensed chaplain, obtained there, from the commanding officer, a sort of license to officiate at a wedding, although the licensed chaplain remonstrated against the invasion of his rights. To complete this strange irregularity, the commanding officer actually

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caused a copy of his pretended license to be sent to the senior chaplain at Calcutta, affecting to consider *him* as the supreme constituted ecclesiastical authority. Copies of these documents were immediately transmitted by the Bishop to the Governor-general in council, with a view to the suppression of such unwarrantable practices, which, it is to be hoped, never were repeated. The circumstance is noticed here for the sole purpose of presenting some notion of the vexatious opposition against which episcopal authority had then to contend, and which compelled the first holder of it to prepare for a conflict at every step of his progress. To our imagination, few things can well be more extraordinary than this assumption of ecclesiastical authority by martial functionaries! And yet some persons in authority were still inclined to think, that the clergy doing duty with the military, were subject to the court-martial. The confusion, however, was precisely such as might naturally be expected to arise out of a state of Christian society which had been suffered to grow up without any ecclesiastical establishment, and in which all authority, of every kind, was often, from necessity, concentrated, for years together, in the persons of military men.

It would be improper to dismiss the letter which alludes to these particulars, without noticing the honourable testimony it bears to

the work of the Reverend Josiah Pratt, entitled "*Propaganda*,"—a publication which exhibits a view of the past labours of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. "I really think," says the Bishop, "that the Society, and therefore the Church, owes a great deal to this publication, though I dislike the title of it. I have put it into circulation as much as possible: *and people are perfectly amazed that they never heard of a Society which has done so much.* It is one of the most interesting exposés I ever read; and Mr. Pratt has done us essential service. Mr. Hawtayne, by my desire, drew up a short account of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts taken from the *Propaganda*, and sent it to the government Gazette, to prepare the way for fuller details hereafter."

The greater part of a letter from the Bishop to Dr. Gaskin, dated Calcutta, February 2, 1820, is here inserted, as it contains some very interesting particulars relative to missionary concerns in the south of India.

"Your letter of the 28th July reached me three days ago. I had not heard any thing of the transfer of the Christian congregations in *Tanjore*, belonging to the Danish mission, to our Society; a measure, the expediency of which the Society appears to have left to my decision. I am not aware of any circumstance which should induce us to decline such an offer,—on the con-

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trary, I think it desirable in every point of view. I have, therefore, directed Mr. Hawtayne to write immediately to Mr. Kolhoff, to inform the missionaries at Tranquebar, that our Society accepts the proposal, and will make the stipulated allowance of 10*l.* per month for the purpose; and also to request that Mr. Kolhoff will take immediate charge of those catechists and their congregations; and expect from me the payment of the monthly allowance, till a permanent arrangement can be made at home. This arrangement you will be so kind as to make as early as you conveniently can, as there is considerable difficulty in making these payments in India, and afterwards settling the account in England.

"I am very glad to find the Society have raised the salaries of the missionaries to 150*l.*: you add, that they will raise it 50*l.* more, if I should deem it expedient. I really think that more is requisite. Suppose that you make it 180*l.* per annum, and 200*l.* to the Vepery missionaries, and to Mr. Kolhoff; to the latter, for his length of service, and to the Vepery missionaries expressly on the ground of the greater expense of living at Madras, which is probably the most expensive place in India. This I should consider to be a just arrangement, and such as would satisfy all the parties.

"On looking at the Ceylon Gazette, which is just arrived, I observe a quarterly meeting of the

Colombo district committee on the 2d ult., from which it appears that the governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, who is now, however, probably on his voyage to England, has presented to the committee the complete impression (500 copies) of a Tamul version of the Liturgy, made by Christian David, the pupil of Swartz. The books are bound, and could not, I *suppose*, have cost his Excellency less than 300*l*. This very generous act, I doubt not, the Society will notice as it deserves. When the Cingalese version, for which I have already requested the Society to send out paper, shall be completed, the book of Common Prayer will be intelligible to all the inhabitants of Ceylon; with the exception, perhaps, of some few of the wild tribes in the interior, who are in a state of barbarism. You may recollect that the Society has assisted in an edition of the Tamul Prayer Book at Madras, as translated by Dr. Rottler; but you are not to infer that this has been rendered useless by what has been done at Ceylon: the Malabar of Ceylon is said to have degenerated very much from that of the peninsula, so as to constitute almost another language. I may remind you that the version of Christian David has been noticed by you in the Report for 1816, at p. 53.

"Upon the whole, I trust that the affairs of the Society are as prosperous in this part of the world as could be expected, under all the cir-

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cumstances. I have lately prevailed with the Governor to grant a small allowance to the chaplain of Dacca, to enable him to pass three months of the year at Chittagong, a station on the borders of the Birman empire, where there are several Europeans, and other Christians. Mr. Taylor writes that he has found three gentlemen there who will be members of our diocesan committee, and will form a little station committee, and use their endeavours to distribute our books. All these out-posts may hereafter be important, especially when the college shall be in action. I am very anxious to begin the building; but the preparations require some time. Chittagong is about 150 miles south-east of Dacca, and about 300 miles E. by S. of Calcutta, and is the same with Islamabad. But this reminds me to suggest, that in the extended relations of the Society with India, it might be convenient if a map of India were hung up in the board-room.

"The letter of the Rev. Mr. Hough was read here at a pretty numerous meeting, and it called forth from all who heard it, an expression of general Christian feeling; it may probably be as well received in England. I wrote to Mr. Hough to thank him on behalf of the Society for his attention to its concerns; and I have heard from him in reply. He speaks in strong terms of the importance of sending a missionary to Palamcotta; and I believe that much might be done in

that quarter. But I wrote to you on this subject some months since."

The letter of the Reverend J. Hough, here alluded to by the Bishop, is inserted, as conveying some interesting particulars relative to his visit of some of the Society's missions.

Palamcotta, September 2, 1819.

My dear Sir,

Having just returned from a visit to the Protestant Churches in this district, I hasten to report their present condition.

There is a church at every station; but, with only two exceptions, they are built with raw brick, and covered with palmyra leaves. The ground, on which these churches stand, was given to the mission by the Nabob's government nearly twenty years ago, and most of the buildings were erected at the same time. Those I have seen are in very good repair, and it requires but a small sum annually to keep them so.

The mission has received an important accession since the last report in another native priest, named Viservarsemarden. He seems to be a man of respectable abilities and genuine piety: and the discourse I heard him preach to his own congregation would have done credit to a minister possessed of the advantage of a superior education to that which he has received. He is stationed at a village called by the Christians Nazareth,

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about twenty miles to the south of this; and Abraham, the other country priest, is at Mothelloor, a few miles farther. If I may judge from appearances during my short stay among the people of these two villages, they are much attached to their priests, as are the Christians of the surrounding country; and I am persuaded they only require to be well supported and encouraged to prove of the most essential service to the congregations entrusted to their care. Even from my hasty visit, the joy diffused through all classes was indescribable, and the people flocked in from the neighbouring villages in every direction. On catechizing such as were introduced to me as the principal people, I found them much better taught in their religion than I had anticipated: and considering the space of time that they have been without a missionary, it was highly gratifying and encouraging to find the benign and peaceable genius of Christianity still keeping them at unity amongst themselves. The two villages named above consist entirely of *Protestants*, nor is there an idol or heathen temple any where to be seen: while the stillness that prevailed, contrasted with the tumult of heathen abodes, seemed to invest these favoured spots with a degree of sanctity, and made one forget for the moment that they were in the midst of a pagan land. One of the priests led me to a part of the village, where was seated

under the shade of cocoa-nut trees a considerable company of women spinning cotton, and singing Lutheran hymns to the motion of their wheels. After service a great part of the congregation shewed no disposition to disperse, and, seating themselves around the door, sang their hymns to a late hour. There were two old men among the group, who were converted to the Christian faith by your missionary Jœnicke, about twenty years ago, and they sang to me several hymns he had taught them. What they sang or said was not so intelligible, indeed, as the language of younger men, but you will readily imagine them to have been among the most interesting of the company. I state these, perhaps trifling particulars, to shew that there appears to be something more than the bare name of Christianity here; and that the enemies of missionary exertions are mistaken in asserting, as many have asserted, that there is not a genuine convert to Christianity among the native protestants. No, Sir, if the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had no other fruit of their cares, their exertions, or their expenditures, for "the promoting of Christian knowledge" in India, to produce, they might point triumphantly to these two villages, in proof that their labour has not been in vain. I have seldom witnessed so much religion in a town in England as is conspicuous here: and some heathen in the neighbourhood of one of the vil-

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lages told me candidly, that it was a very quiet and good place.

I spoke with the priests of the Tamul Liturgy that you propose sending hither, and recommended them to adopt it in all the churches in room of the German form of worship now in use; and they readily acceded to the proposition. I concluded this to be the wish of the committee from their sending five and twenty copies of the work; but, if I have misconceived their intention, I beg they will let me know in time to prevent any alterations being made.

By the statement of baptisms, &c. during the last year, the committee will perceive that the mission continues to spread.

Children baptized	117
Converts from heathenism . .	52
	169
Deceased	115
Total increase for the year 1818	54

Marriages . . 34 Communicants . 127

"In communicating this report of the present state of the Society mission in this remote corner of the Indian continent, I feel that I have not done justice to the subject: but I am especially persuaded, that it is not possible for me to convey the impression that the sight of so many

native Christians congregated together must impart to every benevolent mind; and I could not help wishing, whilst among these interesting people, that the committee were present to witness the scene." CHAP. XX. 1820.

It may perhaps help to illustrate the interesting peculiarities of Anglo-Indian episcopacy, to mention that it brought Bishop Middleton into correspondence with some members of the Greek Church. "I do not know," he writes[1], "whether you are aware that we have several Greeks in the provinces under this government. But what is more remarkable is, that though they are mostly traders in a small way, many of them understand ancient Greek exceedingly well. Two called upon me the other day, and sent up their card *in Greek*, desiring an audience: and I have just received a Greek letter from Benares, in which the writer commends, 'τὸ πρᾶον, τὸ ἱλαρὸν, τὸ καλοκἀγαθον, καὶ Χριστομίμητον ἦθος ὑμῶν,' as classically as if he had been at Cambridge. You must know that I am a favourite with these Greeks; first, I believe, from having some acquaintance with their ancient language, of which they are reasonably proud; and for having given one of their padres (priests) a Greek letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople. I complimented the Patriarch on his sitting in the chair

[1] To the author, dated Calcutta, April 5, 1820.

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of Chrysostom; but the poor man, as I have since learned, had been driven from the chair but a few days before my letter reached him, and was obliged to content himself with a message, being too afflicted to write!"

The miscellaneous objects which demanded the Bishop's attention during the present year (1820) will be best learned from the following portions of his correspondence with archdeacon Barnes; which will exhibit, among other matters, the incessant evil and perplexity arising from the want of a regular marriage-law in India.

Calcutta, April 7, 1820.

I have been longer than I intended in noticing the difficulty referred to by the Rev. Mr. Baynes, in the return required of him by military authority, of his official visits to the garrison hospital; but the absence of the king's troops from Bombay in the interval has made the delay, I trust, of no importance.

When I directed that the garrison chaplain should visit the sick at least once in every week, I was not aware, that under the former system the order was to visit twice: nor should I have conceived it to be consistent with my duty, to introduce a lower system than that which had been already established. I have inquired, however, into the origin of the military regulation to which Mr. Baynes refers; and I find it to be such

that I conceive it must be complied with. It rests upon a compact between his Majesty's government and the East India Company; who would be required to maintain army chaplains in this country, to officiate exclusively to the king's troops, if they did not covenant that their own chaplains should perform this duty; and of this duty it is everywhere a part to visit the sick twice in every week, and to report, periodically, that this has been done; and every neglect on the part of the Company's chaplains would be a violation of the compact entered into by their employers. It is not, therefore, an assumption of military authority over the chaplains to require the return, but merely the fulfilment of an order, to which the chaplains are subject, by their appointment. I will thank you to explain these circumstances to Mr. Baynes, and I doubt not he will see the matter in its true light; in requiring the return, the officer acts not judicially but merely ministerially. . . . . .

Calcutta, April 8, 1820.

I entirely agree with you respecting the merits of the National Society; I consider it to be, at this moment, the most important society in England: all others must be ineffectual if it fail; the disaffection of the lower orders, if not checked by its operation, will swallow up every thing. I do not, however, think it would be at all expe-

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dient to raise subscriptions for it, or for any purely British object, in India: our duty is to interest the Indian public in the wants of this country. To raise money here, to be sent to England, would be virtually a declaration that the state of religion and knowledge in India are subjects of subordinate concern. I rejoice in the success of your exertions, and the produce of your Sermon for promoting Christian knowledge: 70*l.* is indeed a considerable sum. Your funds are now such, that if the college were established, you might assist the press by employing it in printing translations of the Society's tracts. I have, however, written home upon that subject. I hope to have students in the college from your side of India, and a Mahratta moonshee; and I have reason to expect that the Ceylon government will support Cingalese students in college, at the public charge. The time may come when all the governments may adopt the same course: it may be seen to be a matter of policy to have converts trained up in the principles of order and allegiance.

You may remember that when I was at Bombay, I applied to the Board of Control respecting a marriage act; but Mr. Courtenay was unwilling to take up the business. I do not see, however, how we can go on with the present system, or rather want of all system. What is a license in one part of India is no license

in another. In some places commanding officers consider a scrap of paper, indicating their consent to a soldier's marriage, to supersede banns: and the other day, when a soldier was told his banns should be published, he said he would have nothing to do with banns, and was immediately married by one of the Baptists. The marriage is certainly invalid; but the notion seems to prevail, that any thing is a marriage, which the person officiating chooses to call so. A late Madras paper announces a marriage by a Danish missionary from Tranquebar, then staying at Madras. I must, therefore, again make an attempt to have these abuses corrected; and to aid me in the work, I wish you would turn your thoughts to the subject, and throw together such hints, as may seem to you to be applicable to the state of this country; for our peculiar circumstances must be considered, and in fact constitute the difficulty of the problem.

We have been keeping Lent here tolerably well; on every Wednesday the children were catechised in the cathedral, and on the Friday evenings I preached to very considerable congregations; and on Easter Sunday to 700, of whom 150 were communicants. Lent, however, like every thing else, has become a subject of controversy here, owing to my interference to prevent public amusements in Passion Week. On the Saturday preceding Passion Week, the

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papers announced a conversatione, *i. e.* a public dance, on the Tuesday following; and it is certainly true, as one of the newspapers express it, that "the highest civil authority was requested by the highest ecclesiastical authority" to use his influence to get the ball postponed; and postponed it was accordingly. Upon this some scribbler in a newspaper wishes to know if Passion Week is observed in London? . . . . . Whether the controversy will go on, I know not: but the last important question was, whether the Scotch Church be not legally established in India? I am not yet acquainted with the benefits arising from the freedom of the press here; but the evils are apparent enough. One of them is, that every malignant sneer or silly jest against religion obtains a ready currency both among Europeans and natives. One of the papers here has lately attacked the observance of the Sabbath!

Calcutta, August 3, 1820.

I received your Education Society, and Promoting Christian Knowledge reports, and I think them both extremely well drawn up. They exhibit, in both instances, a very flourishing state of things, owing, I am fully aware, to the zeal and activity with which you promote the interests of the two institutions. Be assured that I duly feel the value of such co-operation.

I am glad the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge have enabled you to translate and print their tracts, at least, to make a beginning. I mean to enable this committee to do something in the same way. You are right in supposing that the college here will supply all these things: it is one of its prominent objects to print our tracts in the prevailing languages, and to sell them at reduced prices to members of the several committees, and, at some price, probably, to any who will purchase. The enormous expense of printing at present is a serious impediment to the promotion of knowledge, and really reduces the value of the invention. I have set the two presses of the Society to work again at Madras. They are printing a Tamul translation of Lewis's Catechism, made by one of our new missionaries, Mr. Haubroe, of whom I hear all that is desirable; and a Psalter is also in the press. That committee has always gone on exceedingly well. Mr. Clarke is, in truth, one of the ablest and best disposed men I have ever known . . . . . .

I cannot fix precisely the time of my visiting you; but you shall have ample notice. I mean, at present, to leave this place about the first week of the new year. It seems to have been providential that I was prevented from going my visitation at the beginning of the present; I should probably have fallen in, on my return, with the

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dreadful hurricanes, which, on both coasts, overwhelmed so many persons in destruction. My plan will be to visit you first, and to touch at Ceylon afterwards; though I hardly know what I am to do at the latter, where only a single colonial chaplain remains in the island: *an archdeacon and a chaplain, in the absence of the bishop, constitute the Church establishment.*

I thank you for your hints towards a Marriage Act for India: the great difficulties turn upon the paucity of clergy and the want of parishes. You say, "let every station be taken as a parish for the purposes of the Act:" but a parish has known boundaries, and in England what is not in one parish is in some other. What is to be the boundary of a station? A few days ago one of the chaplains here applied to me in the following case: a serjeant at Midnapore (70 miles from Calcutta,) was to be married to a young woman of that place; there is no chaplain there, and a serjeant cannot afford to send for one: but his officer would permit him to come over to Calcutta to the cathedral. He could not afford a license; and where were his banns to be published? I directed that they should be published at the cathedral: Midnapore is nearer to Calcutta than to any other clerical station, and, therefore, must be taken as an adjoining extra-parochial place, or a hamlet within the parish. Such a publication, it may be said, at such a distance

from the residence of the parties, is really nugatory; so it is, but this is the only way in which we can save the analogy, and publish banns at all. I mention this merely to shew you that a main difficulty relates to boundaries; as whether Calcutta includes Midnapore, and even Cuttack; and this difficulty would not be removed entirely, if those stations, and all others of the same importance, had chaplains. Pray turn your attention to the subject in this point of view.

Mr. Davies's return restores him to Colaba. I do trust, however, that he will not attempt or wish to set up a congregation again in Bombay, or do any thing which is not strictly canonical; and that you will give him to understand plainly, if it be necessary, that it cannot be allowed. There is abundant room for the exercise of all salutary zeal within the limits of the discipline of the Church. . . . . .

The government here have lately sent me a copy of a despatch from the court of directors[1], informing me in what way they wish me to grant licenses. I suppose the letter passed through the Board of Controul, and yet it bespeaks a degree of interference, which, on a former occasion, the Board disclaimed. . . . . .

As to ecclesiastical matters here, I am sorry to

[1] An abstract of this despatch has been inserted in vol. i. page 449—450.

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say, that several of the chaplains are expected to take their furlough the next cold season; and I question whether more than nine or ten will remain in this archdeaconry. It is a sad state of things, and really disgraceful to the greatest of Christian nations; but the fault is not with me."

It may afford a seasonable relief from these details to furnish the reader with parts of the Bishop's correspondence with Mr. Ward, which present an interesting combination of light and shadow.

Calcutta, April 8, 1820.

My dear Friend,

It is long since I heard from you; but it is some relief to me, that while I do not hear from you, I can at least write to you. You judged very well in directing to Bombay; though as it happens, my visitation of the western side of my diocese must be deferred till the beginning of next year. I purpose to go to Bombay direct, and to take Ceylon on my return. My late experience, however, has made me rather more averse than ever from the sea; we went through a great deal, and had some very narrow escapes. At my next visitation of Bombay I shall probably have occasion to go to Surat. I shall then be pretty well acquainted with all the sea coast of India. I am constantly asked, when I shall go into the

Upper Provinces, to Agra and Delhi ? But till the Company will build churches in those parts, I should be able to effect but little ; and even then I know not how I should find time ; it would occupy at least ten months, if not a whole year ; and my duties in Calcutta are alone sufficient to occupy my whole attention. They are increasing, indeed, every day : so much so that I am unable to keep down my routine business, and have fallen sadly into arrear. I have not yet begun to build my college ; but I am making preparations. It is inconceivable what trouble I have had with architects. The routine of office is vastly slower here than in London ; but I hope it will be well done at last. I have got the grant of land executed, a beautiful spot of twenty acres on the western bank of the river, to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and their successors for ever. *A very experienced builder has examined the ground, and he says that there is not firmer or drier in Bengal.* If it please God to preserve me amidst so many dangers till the college is well established, I hardly know what more I shall have to desire on this side the grave. The other morning I walked over the ground without any companion, and while I heard at a distance the woodman's axe at the root of the trees, I could not help musing on what, if God bless the design, will be the future studies and glories of the place, when

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the founder, perhaps within its walls, is mingling with the dust.

I am sorry to say that the cholera morbus has broken out again: it is really almost a plague. Europeans have not very lately suffered much from it: but every body is provided with medicine to be taken instantly: the doctor must not be waited for: life is here held by an awful tenure. Somehow or other I have caught cold, and am at this moment much oppressed by it: but I have the best of nurses. It makes me tremble when I reflect that I hold all my happiness in this world by a single, and apparently a very slight thread. I am, indeed, the most dependent man living. I feel myself to be so, and often it affects my spirits. There is nothing to break the fall—no child; and, in this country, no friend; none, I mean, in the sense which the case supposes. But I trust that Providence will order every thing for the best. Of all men in the world I ought to be among the last who could doubt his mercy. My whole life, up to the present hour, is a monument of his mercy.

The late season of Lent has been kept here with a considerable degree of propriety. I catechised the children on every Wednesday, and preached to very respectable congregations on every Friday evening: and on Sunday last, (Easter-day), my congregation was 700, of whom 150 received the sacrament. But this is the

favourable side of the case: there is a great deal of irreligion here; and it is not without its advocates. Pray present our united regards to Mrs. Ward and the family, and believe me,

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Ever your affectionate friend,

T. F. Calcutta.

Calcutta, August 7, 1820.

My dear Friend,

The contrast of your sauntering and idleness at Tunbridge Wells with my "bustling activity" at Penang, under a nearly vertical sun, may appear to yourself to be not very much in your favour. You speak, as if I had rather the advantage; whereas, it seems to me to be all on your side. It is one of the great deprivations attending a residence in these regions, that one cannot saunter; that is, that one cannot take a walk at all. You recollect, that this was one of my greatest enjoyments; wherever I have resided I have on foot explored the neighbourhood. At Cambridge, in Lincolnshire, in Norfolk, in Northamptonshire, I knew every village within five or six miles of my dwelling: but nothing of the kind is here possible; the attempt would in all probability produce a fever. It is to this cause that so many strangers, young men especially, on their first arrival, owe their death. They forget that they are no longer in England. Believe me then, my friend, that I would wil-

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lingly exchange the pleasure of contemplating the majestic scenery of the east for an evening's ramble in the neighbourhood of Tunbridge Wells: there is something cool and refreshing in the thought. At this moment, on looking out of my library window, I see the argulas, or adjutants, (a species of crane that stands nearly three feet high,) with their wings extended horizontally; and thus they will continue at this season for hours together; it is on the same principle that we throw off our clothing; they cannot bear to have the covering of their wings close to their bodies. And yet this is not comparatively a hot day, the thermometer being only 86°,—though the thermometer is but a very inadequate test of heat, as felt by the human frame. A retiring place like Tunbridge, or Ramsgate, or Weymouth, is the great desideratum of India. Here, when people are sick, they are sent to sea, probably to the Cape, which is the worst half of the voyage to England.

Calcutta, September 6, 1820.

My dear Friend,

Since I last wrote to you, Mrs. Middleton and myself have had a very narrow escape from destruction. We were sitting at dinner on Thursday evening last, when our house was struck with lightning. The clap of thunder resembled the firing of an eighteen-pounder in the

next room: the dining-room was immediately filled with smoke, accompanied with a strong smell of sulphur. Providentially, though the servants were about, no person was hurt; but it was soon discovered that the venetians had been shattered at about twelve feet from where Mrs. Middleton and myself were sitting, and all the western side of the house had been battered as if with shot. But the scene of havoc was up stairs. Adjoining my library is an enclosed verandah of about forty feet by thirteen; the electric matter had entered through the roof at each end close to the wall, and had occasioned a scene of frightful devastation. The floor was literally covered with bricks, plaster, fragments of venetians, broken glass, and the iron fastenings of the windows, which were torn to pieces, and in some places slightly fused. But the electric fluid was impatient of any thing like confinement: at one end of the verandah it passed through a wall two feet thick into my library, and tore off the plaster; at the other end it forced its way through a much thicker wall, and came out on the principal stair-case. It is singular enough that a canvass partition in the verandah, placed nearly at equal distances from both ends, had been perforated by bodies, which had evidently moved in opposite directions, probably fragments of wood or brick. One end of this verandah forms my dressing-

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room, where but an hour before I had been dressing for dinner. Had the lightning taken effect at that time, I must inevitably have been killed, and perhaps have been dashed to pieces, or burnt to a cinder. All this, you may believe, is a cause of great thankfulness; such a deliverance is indeed almost miraculous. There has not been known any incident like this in the memory of man: the shivering of a window or two is an event which takes place in Calcutta, perhaps, once in four or five years, but nothing more.

I have not yet actually begun building, but I hope all impediments are now removed. I have had a great deal of trouble and anxiety with this undertaking; but if it please God to enable me to accomplish all which I have projected, I shall be well rewarded for my labour. My object has been duty; and if in the discharge of this, I could but hope, as I sometimes do (though not always) that good is done, I should be perfectly content. If I should live to see the college completed and put upon a prosperous footing, I shall seem to have been preserved for a useful purpose. It promises to be a noble work, and will, I hope, have God's blessing. But he who begins a great work, if he be at all of my habit of mind, will be led into serious reflections respecting the end of it. What is his prospect of seeing it completed? Two years is the

limit allowed, in the agreement with the builder, for the completion of the work; I am, as you know, very near the close of my fifty-second year; and two years more, will carry me to an age, which every where is somewhat advanced, and is still more so in India. I meet in fact but few seniors in society; those who are not dead, have returned to England, with here and there a solitary exception. It is of some importance to the object, that my life should be spared for a few years. A long interval must elapse before another bishop could arrive from England, to supply my place; and even he might not take it up precisely in the spirit of the projector: but when the institution is once completed, it will require little more than adherence to statutes, or established usage. I will endeavour to send you a drawing of the college as it will be seen from the river, as I know you are fond of architecture; if that may be dignified with the name of architecture, which has had no assistance from Nash, or Soane, or Smirke, and, of course, pretends not to any grandeur or beauty of design, but only to the useful, and not to offend good taste.

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We are both well, and join in affectionate regards to you all.

Ever, my dear friend, affectionately yours,

T. F. Calcutta.

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Such was the violence of the storm alluded to in this last extract, that it was noticed in most of the London papers: and it is impossible to reflect, without emotion, that it might have brought to a premature and lamentable close the invaluable labours and benevolent solicitudes of Bishop Middleton.

Although the thoughts and faculties of Bishop Middleton were now almost absorbed by the various and great objects constantly before him, he continued to feel, at intervals, that appalling sense of *solitude*, which is frequently the subject of his complaints, and which seemed to become more insupportable with every additional year of his residence in India. He felt that he was almost *alone* in the mighty work which was given him to do; and this he expresses in a very affecting manner to that valued friend to whom so much of his correspondence is addressed.

TO THE REV. H. H. NORRIS.

Calcutta, September 12, 1820.

My dear Friend,

I wrote to you a few lines upon a cover, about five weeks since, just to shew you that I was alive and well. I now sit down to give a full reply to your most acceptable letter of February last. When I say *most acceptable*, I am not quite sure that you sufficiently distinguish the expres-

sion from the language of ordinary civility. You are not, in fact, in circumstances to feel its full force. You are surrounded by kindred spirits, and need not to go beyond the limits of Hackney, to hear what interests you, or to impart what is uppermost in your mind: or, if you want advice or consolation, in cases which admit it, you know where to apply. How different is this from my condition! How is it, that a feeling of severance —I had almost said of exile—will sometimes steal across the mind, and suggest that in respect of all the great objects, and business, and consolations of life, I am *alone!* The most powerful remedy against all such feelings, is found in letters from England; and in none, I assure you, more than your own. It is something to be assured that I am not fallen into absolute oblivion; and that if I perish, there are some few, at least, among good men, who would utter an affectionate *vale!*"

This paragraph is followed by many pages of discussion, explanatory statement, and anxious anticipation and conjecture, relative to the mission college, which he was anxious to begin building. He then passes on to another subject, which he always contemplated with great satisfaction, namely, the free school at Calcutta, of which it will be interesting to hear his own account.

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"September 14, 1820.

I was obliged to pause in my letter by a slight attack of indisposition, occasioned by uneasiness, increased by sitting yesterday morning *five hours* at the free school; when we agreed, unanimously, to break in a little upon our funded capital, and raise the number of children wholly maintained by us from 300 to 400; 120 girls and 280 boys. This is one of the finest institutions out of England; and, I really think, admirably conducted. It was in a sad neglected state when I first arrived here: but the monthly meetings of the patrons and governors, and the getting out a master from England, have accomplished great things. The governors, (eleven besides the patron, myself) are the archdeacon, and the two chaplains of the cathedral, and several of the most considerable gentlemen in the place; and nothing can be more harmonious than our meetings. It is a pleasure to attend them. The boys I hope to find excellent schoolmasters, to be educated in the college. Some of them are European on both sides. Supposing them to enter the college at fourteen, with the best instruction afforded by the school, and then for five or six years to be well instructed in European knowledge, in history, in the elements of natural philosophy, and the lower parts of mathematics, in sound Christian learning, and, *perhaps*, in a little Latin,—they will then be such

schoolmasters as India cannot boast at present. I mean that they should, of course, cultivate the English language, and some of the native languages, which will be equally required."

The letter which contains this various matter, has likewise a brief allusion to a plan of the Governor-general, which had been some time in agitation, but which was unfortunately defeated, for investing the see of Calcutta with becoming splendour. In a correspondence with the Nizam, the sovereign of Hydrabad, who paid an annual tribute to the supreme government, the marquess of Hastings had engaged to forego this tribute on condition of an ample gift, to the amount of several lacs of rupees, for the embellishment of Calcutta. With this sum he proposed to erect a cathedral, and an episcopal residence or see-house; a chapel at Barrackpoor; and a set of alms-houses near St. James's Church for respectable widows, far advanced in life. With this design in contemplation, his lordship actually engaged a young engineer, of superior talents, to prepare plans for the consideration of the Bishop. Both these designs were returned by him with various objections; that of the cathedral as defective in architectural propriety, that of the house as greatly excessive in magnificence. These objections were fully admitted by lord Hastings, who desired that the plans might undergo revision. A design for

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the episcopal residence was accordingly prepared upon a much more limited scale, but still admirably suited to the dignity of the office, and the convenience which might be required for a family residence. With this second draft for the episcopal house the Bishop was fully satisfied; with regard to the preparation of an appropriate design for the cathedral, he was enabled to assist the conceptions of the engineer by referring him to Britton's Antiquities, and to a large collection of engravings of Gothic architecture, which he had carefully made among his own friends. The plan was in hopeful progress, when the engineer was seized with an alarming fever, which compelled him to embark without delay for England. He carried with him his unfinished sketch, with the intention of completing it from his own observation of such ancient structures in this country, always with a due regard to the difference of climate. In consequence of some objections, however, on the part of other members of the council, which rendered it indispensable to refer the question to the authorities at home, the scheme was ultimately suffered to drop: "and so," says the Bishop, "I must go on without any thing at all resembling a cathedral; and paying *house-rent* 630*l. per annum, without having a spare room in which to invite a friend to stay a single night.*"

CHAPTER XXI.

Abstract of the Bishop's sermon on Advent Sunday, 1820—*Laying of the foundation-stone of Bishop's Mission College —Description of the site—General principles of its management.*

In spite of the various oppressive and discouraging circumstances alluded to at the close of the last chapter, and in other parts of this narrative, the whole correspondence of the Bishop shews that, in the midst of his difficulties, his mind was intently fixed upon his great and favourite design. He had for a considerable time been deeply engaged in plans and estimates; and in all the endless variety of vexatious details unavoidably incident to such an undertaking. He was supported and animated, however, under his labours, by the honourable reception which had been given to the design in England, and by the persuasion that such an institution was fitted to become, in the course of time, the very ark of the Christian cause in India. "If," says he, "it shall please God only to spare me till the work is complete, and the machine effectually set in motion, I shall seem to have attained my

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euthanasia." Again, in the same letter, after some expressions indicating serious apprehension that his powers would be completely exhausted long before the expiration of his period of service, he adds, "You must not, however, infer, when I argue thus, and look to a retreat, that I have any wish to relinquish my duties at present. *At this moment I would not exchange them for those of any individual in my profession.* The college alone is quite sufficient to engage much higher powers than I can boast of, and to reward much greater exertions than I can make. My mind, in truth, cannot contemplate any thing greater, or more worthy of a bishop of the Church of England, than the foundation and organization of such an institution."

In a similar tone of feeling he expresses himself to another correspondent[1]:—"The college to which you allude in your last," he says, "is a project which has been in my mind for the last three years, and is all that I can contribute towards an *university* near this capital; and with the blessing of God, (to which I seem to myself to ascribe more and more the longer I live,) it may bid fair to be the foundation of what, in future ages, may become the University of Calcutta. Cambridge and Oxford certainly arose from humbler beginnings. I have not yet actually

[1] In a letter to the author, dated April 5, 1820.

begun building. It is inconceivable what trouble I have had, not in *obtaining* a plan, (for a college is here as little understood as a pagoda in England,) but in getting my own ideas embodied on paper. . . . . Can you forgive the feelings of a founder if I tell you that, the other day, as I listened to the woodman's axe employed in clearing the ground, I actually began to muse upon what might hereafter be the studies and the glories of the place! I know that such enthusiasm is very irrational, and ought to be checked; but, really, without some little indulgence in this way, I should never get through my difficulties."

Of the institution which thus filled his imagination, and kindled his religious affections, the purpose cannot better be described than in the words of him who is so justly entitled to the honour, which he here diffidently claims, of being remembered as its *Founder;* of him, with whom the conception originated, and by whose unwearied urgency of application the energies and the resources to which it owed its existence may almost be said to have been created. In order, therefore, that a clear and full conception may be formed of the motives which prompted his zeal, and girded up his faculties, for this great work, it will be proper to introduce here his own representation of the objects for the accomplishment of which the college was to be reared. An ample exposition of those objects has, it is true, been

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already submitted to the reader in various extracts from his private and public correspondence. But in no document, perhaps, are his views exhibited with such solemnity and power, as in the masterly discourse delivered by him afterwards in his own cathedral, on the 3d of December, being Advent Sunday, 1820, (not many days before the ceremony of laying the first stone of the building,) and which concludes by calling the attention of the public to the nature of the proposed institution. The text chosen for this admirable sermon, was Ephes. iii. 10.—*To the intent that now, unto principalities and powers in heavenly places, might be known (or made known) by the Church the manifold wisdom of God.*

In considering these words, the Bishop began by observing, that they suggested three topics of meditation:—

1. What is the manifold wisdom of God?

2. Why should it be proclaimed to the Gentiles? And

3. What are the means, by which the work may, and must be carried on, till all the kingdoms of this world are become the "kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ?"

1. The first of these topics, he said, invited us to contemplation of the Divine wisdom, as displayed in the works of creation and of Providence. But the *manifold wisdom of God* chiefly contemplated in the text, was that displayed in

the scheme of man's redemption; a scheme in which mercy is the moving principle—in which holiness is vindicated—in which justice is satisfied—in which our weakness is upholden by Divine support—in which holy desires are instilled into the heart—in which sorrow is comforted—in which repentance is efficacious—in which sin is pardoned—in which God is reconciled—in which the world is overcome,—and, in our last hour, death is deprived of his triumph. If these points were duly and devoutly weighed, it must be concluded that the *wisdom* revealed in this method of redemption, is one among the various and independent proofs that the Scriptures were inspired of God.

2. Another question suggested in the text is, Why should *the manifold wisdom of God* be proclaimed to the Heathen? To this the Apostle himself supplies the answer,—in order that it might thus *be made known to the principalities and powers, in heavenly places,* to those superior intelligencies which surround the throne of God. That *men* may glorify God, when they see our good works, is a consideration perfectly level to our views of duty; but this consideration is potently strengthened by the thought, that even the angels give glory unto Him, when they behold the advancement of his purposes through the piety of their humbler fellow-servants.

If, then, the principalities of Heaven exult in

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the diffusion of the truth among the sons of men, what should be the zeal of them that know the truth, to forward that blessed consummation? And where shall their zeal awaken if it be dormant in this land? In what region of the known world is the truth of God more palpably *turned into a lie?* and where, too, we may ask, do we find more dreadful testimony to that fall from primæval uprightness, which the Gospel was designed to repair? The dislocated strata of the earth attest to the geologist the breaking up of the great deep. Even so, here, does the Christian trace the ruin of the moral world. The best qualities of our nature, and their opposite defects, are here found in immediate contact; the fear, without the knowledge, of God—courtesy without brotherly love—profuseness without public spirit—submissiveness without humility—a consciousness of sin without the want of a Saviour—fortitude without feeling or resignation—a contempt of death without a thought of immortality. Who can look upon these things and not lament them? Who, that laments them, can be backward to administer the remedy?

But then, continued the Bishop, the Christian cannot consent to rest his argument merely on the prospect of temporal advantage or improvement. He who would have *all men to be saved,* would have them also *come to a knowledge of the truth.* Why else is Christ *the way* as well

as *the truth and the life?* Why is it that his disciples were to *preach the Gospel to every creature?* Why is it that he says of himself, that he *came into the world, that he might bear witness to the truth?* He is no witness of the truth to them who know him not. To the Redeemer is promised no less an inheritance than the whole earth. How, then, can Christians listen to this promise without feeling that it commands their exertions for the promotion of his glory and the extension of his kingdom? If the religion of Christ is designed for universal acceptance, the whole race of man are already bound together by ties of spiritual brotherhood. There is now *neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all and in all.*

But, lastly, the Apostle tells us, that *the manifold wisdom of God* should be made known *by the Church.* The Church is the channel which is to diffuse throughout the whole human race a knowledge of the Divine greatness in creation and in Providence, but especially in redemption: and it is accordingly found, that nations become enlightened and happy precisely in proportion to their Christian knowledge; or, in the words of my text, in proportion as *the Church has made known unto them the manifold wisdom of God.*

But what, it may be asked, is *the Church* which St. Paul described as the honoured instrument

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of making known the *manifold wisdom of God?* Doubtless, the "one Catholic and Apostolic Church" of Christ, which, in our Creed we profess to believe. And to this Church it cannot be questioned that the Church of England pre-eminently belongs. Her government is primitive, her doctrines are scriptural, her liturgy breathes the very spirit of the Gospel, her solemnities are reasonable, decent, orderly, and edifying. Many, whom circumstances have fixed in other communions, have acknowledged her to be the Queen of Protestant Churches, and the bulwark of the Protestant cause; and none can deny, that by her moderation she is signally adapted not only to receive, but to retain, the converts of the eastern world, when once they can be brought to renounce the pageantries of superstition for the sobriety and the decency of her impressive worship.

It cannot then be imagined, that in the work prescribed to the Church of Christ, that branch of it to which we belong has no part, nor even a subordinate part, to fill. It should seem, indeed, if her duties are to be measured by her means and opportunities, that no Church since the days of the apostles has been called to such high destinies. To what fortuitous coincidence shall we impute it, that at this moment her clergy are exercising their ministry in every quarter of the globe? In America flourishing churches have

grown up entirely under her patronage. In Africa a colony has been planted, by which her doctrines and discipline are brought into contact with the superstitions of ignorant and barbarous tribes. In New South Wales she has a field before her nearly equal in extent to the whole of Europe. And what shall we say of Asia? A vast empire has been given us, or rather imposed upon us; and wherefore? He who can reconcile such a consummation even to philosophical views of the ways of God, without reference to the purposes of His "manifold wisdom" as revealed in Scripture, and can believe it to have been brought about merely for the gratification of our avarice or vanity, cannot have advanced very far in the knowledge which sound philosophy might teach him. It is not merely unchristian, it is unphilosophical, it is unreasonable, to believe that God ever works in vain, or even brings about mighty revolutions with a view to results comparatively mean and trivial.

I cannot conclude, however, without briefly adverting to a topic closely connected with our present discussion, and not unfitly introduced at the present season. Out of the zeal of our church and nation, appealed to by royal authority, and at the instance of an ancient and chartered society, to make known the manifold wisdom of God, an institution is likely to arise in this vicinity, calculated, as we trust, under Providence,

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to advance the glory of God and the highest interests of man. It is designed to be strictly collegiate in constitution, in discipline, and in character: its objects will be the education of Christian youth in sacred knowledge, in sound learning, in the principal languages used in this country, and in habits of piety and devotion to their calling, that they may be qualified to preach among the heathen. The attention of the learned persons connected with it will be directed to making accurate versions of the Scriptures, of the liturgy, and of other holy books: it will endeavour to disseminate useful knowledge by means of schools, under teachers well educated for the purpose; and it will aim at combining and consolidating, so far as may be, into one system, and directing into the same course of sentiment and action, the endeavours which are here made to advance the Christian cause. The favour and patronage of the public in England have been eminently displayed towards the projected institution. The king's letter, granted to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, has been productive beyond all example; and other religious societies and public bodies have munificently aided the work. It will be evident, however, when the objects are considered, that more abundant means will still be requisite to give to such a plan all the effect of which it is naturally capable;

nothing perhaps equally comprehensive has yet been attempted by any Protestant Church; yet I doubt not that the members of our own, wherever dispersed, will be ready to afford it their assistance, and more especially in India. With a degree of impatience, for which the motive is an ample excuse, some have wished that the established church would show herself more prominently in the great work of diffusing the light of the Gospel through the Eastern world. This duty, though not hitherto so fully discharged as may have been desired, has never been forgotten. In the present endeavour she avails herself of means and opportunities, which until now had been withholden. For their efficacy we trust in the Almighty: at the same time beseeching him to put it into the hearts of all, to whom the appeal shall be made, to further and support an institution having no object but his glory, in making known by the church his manifold wisdom to those who *have the understanding darkened, and are alienated from the life of God*."—(Eph. vi. 18.)

The king's letter, alluded to in this sermon, had procured a sum little short of 50,000*l.* in aid of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Of this magnificent and unprecedented collection, that Society, as we have already seen, had anticipated 5000*l.* by a vote to the Bishop of Calcutta, to enable him to extend,

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in any way which he might deem advisable, the operations of the Society in the East; and this sum, increased by the munificent donations from other religious bodies, was immediately devoted by him to the commencement of the building of the college, as soon as he was duly assured that the design was honoured by the approbation of the Church at home, and was likely to receive general and continued support from the public.

In December, 1820, all the preparatory measures for the building were fully matured. The whole plan and arrangement of the intended edifice were the work of the Bishop himself, assisted by Mr. Hawtayne in the selection of the ornaments. The style of architecture adopted by him was such as might be expected from a taste formed at a British university. It was the pure, ancient, collegiate Gothic; a style recommended to us by the most solemn and most delightful associations, and which it seems almost sacrilegious to abandon for a manner connected, more or less, in our thoughts, with the rites and practices of Pagan superstition. The building was to occupy three sides of a quadrangle, each 150 feet in length. It was to comprise within itself all the usual requisites of a college,—a hall, a chapel, and a library, together with the additional advantages of a press. It was to present its open front to the

river; the chapel and hall forming the centre, the houses of the principal and professors, the lecture-rooms, and the apartments for students, being distributed along the wings. The situation chosen for the structure was admirably fitted for the exhibition of its elegance. The ground on which it was to stand is closely adjacent to the Botanical Garden of the Company, and commands the view of a glorious expanse of water, over which every vessel must pass in going to Calcutta; so that it would be impossible for any one to approach the capital of the East without having his eye attracted by this noble monument of Christian piety and munificence. The reader has already been made acquainted with the advantages of the situation in question, by frequent allusions to it in the Bishop's correspondence. On a subject, however, of so much interest, one more extract may perhaps be endured. In a letter to archdeacon Watson, October, 1819, the Bishop had written as follows:—

"Dr. Wordsworth in his charge[1] takes a

[1] The charge here alluded to was addressed by Dr. Wordsworth, then rector of Lambeth, to the missionaries, Laurence Peter Haubroe and David Rosen; and is one of the most powerful and heart-stirring that ever was delivered to persons under a similar destination. The following is the passage more immediately adverted to by the Bishop:—

"Why should I forbear to point at yet higher hopes? Why

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magnificent and ample view of all that relates to Christianity in India. I rejoice to find such sentiments avowed and expanded on such an occasion. It shews that something may now be expected. And when I look at what Dr. Wordsworth has so eloquently expressed, when

refuse, for a moment, to follow, in our argument, where the Divine Providence appears to call? May I not add, that a wide field is now opened, a noble theatre erected, for exertion of the energies and virtues of a great nation? and that the circumstances of the times seem peculiarly to invite England to display herself as a Christian people in the sight of all the nations of the earth?

"We cannot forget that we have ourselves, not long ago, been brought out of a fire of great tribulation: and who does not discern that our present prosperity is, under God, the fruit of those noble principles on which, as a government and a people, we have recently acted towards Africa, towards Portugal, Spain, France, Germany, and other oppressed and afflicted nations of Europe? O that Asia might obtain her due portion! O that we might go on, *and erect, therefore, a national monument of our gratitude for past and present peculiar privileges and blessings*—a monument of praise to the God of battles—an adamantine monument to our fame and His glory,—by giving to the natives of India the *imperishable blessings of the Gospel of peace!* The circumstances of the times—the special circumstances of that part of the empire—the recent and mighty extension and consolidation of our dominion there—the recent enlargement of our spiritual means and opportunities—the circumstances at which the natives are arrived—all converge as to one point; all appear to unite as in one call upon England, to manifest herself to her dependencies, in all her power and dignity, as a Christian people! Be this our praise; be this, at length, our pride!"

he speaks of *erecting a national monument of gratitude,* with reference to Asia, I cannot but apply the passage, in all its strength, to my proposed college of English missions. It will be at once a monument of gratitude to the Almighty; and will conduce, if any thing can conduce, under Divine protection, *to give to the natives the imperishable blessings of the Gospel.* I see the value of such an institution, almost daily in a stronger point of view; and if any endeavour of my life has afforded me real satisfaction, it is my being able to announce to you and our common friends, that I have obtained from government, through the favour of Lord Hastings, the promise of *a site for the building;* all the advantages of which it would be impossible to convey to those who have not a local knowledge of Calcutta. . . . . The piece of ground assigned to the college is about fourteen acres; and whatever be its intrinsic value, its worth is hardly to be estimated, for the purpose in view. Though within three miles of the bustling capital, the college will be as retired and quiet, (being on the opposite side of a river much wider than the Thames at London), as Fulham Palace, or archdeacon Cambridge's at Twickenham. *The spot is remarkably dry.* The banks of the river are healthy. The walk through the adjoining teak grove is more academic than any thing in this neighbourhood;

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and the Botanic Garden, which resembles an English park, would be thought beautiful in any part of the world. Directly opposite are the villas or palaces of Garden Reach. In such a spot the students will be secure from interruption. The river is a barrier which precludes idle visits. Nor is any thing to be apprehended from the encroachments, or future vicinity, of bad neighbours. The teak grove is a part of the Botanic Garden; and on the side is a beautiful estate, which will probably always be the residence of some one of our principal gentry. At any rate, the domain is sufficiently large, let the worst happen, to keep all annoyance at a tolerable distance: and, what is not least important, the situation of your college will be prominent and conspicuous. The river is here our turnpike road; and every stranger who arrives from England, or from the distant presidencies, before he reaches Calcutta, will have occasion to remark a collegiate establishment belonging to the Church of England. I cannot conceive the Church to exhibit herself in a more distinguished or attractive form. In short, in all India, there is not another spot to be placed in competition, excepting only that which adjoins it, to the N.E. and that is no more than equally good. To have obtained it for such a purpose is really a cause of thankfulness with me!"

Of the college designed to stand on this fa-

voured spot, it was the Bishop's wish that the Society for the Propagation of Gospel in Foreign Parts should become the proprietors. The Bishop of Calcutta, for the time being, was to be the Visitor. Its title was to be "*Bishop's Mission College.*" It was founded originally for a principal and two professors, and for as many students as its funds should enable the Society to maintain, during the period of study, and to provide for, afterwards, in the situations of missionaries, schoolmasters, and catechists, at its various stations. These stations were to be under episcopal jurisdiction, in all matters ecclesiastical or spiritual; and in all other respects were to be responsible to the bishop, in his character of Visitor. As the object of the institution was expressly the propagation of the Gospel, no students were to be admitted who should not propose to devote themselves to that object. Its design was widely and charitably comprehensive, since it embraced all such portions of insular or continental Asia as should at any time be under the protection or authority of Great Britain.

At length, all preliminary difficulties being surmounted, on the 15th December, 1820, the Bishop had the inexpressible delight of laying, with all due and impressive solemnity, the foundation stone[1] of this noble seminary. That

[1] For a full account of the ceremony, see the Appendix.

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day must have been among the brightest, perhaps the very brightest, of his whole existence. He had lived to see the prosperous beginnings of a work which had cost him many a laborious day, and many a sleepless night; but which had often made his pulse beat high with hope, and had given an excitement to his powers that kept them in vigorous and salutary action. And it may surely be said that, had he accomplished nothing but the foundation of Bishop's College, he would have done enough to render his administration of the see of Calcutta memorable to the end of time.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Bishop proceeds on his visitation to Bombay—Letter to Mr. Norris—Sermon for the Education Society—Letter to Mr. Monk—Notice of the Parsees in Bombay—The Bishop's name introduced in the evidence before the House of Lords on the trial of the Queen—His contradiction of the statement—His personal and domestic habits—Letter of the Bishop to the author—Reflections on the tone of his correspondence.

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When this important and interesting work was despatched, the Bishop had leisure to prepare for his visitation to Bombay. On the 15th of January, 1821, he embarked for that presidency, accompanied by his chaplain, Mr. Hawtayne, in the ship *Susan*, Captain Collingwood, a very old and respectable officer in the East India *country* service. He did not reach Bombay till the 27th of February, where he was received with the same marks of respect as in 1816. He proceeded at once to the house of the chief secretary, a spacious mansion which the government had assigned him for a residence, and had spared no expense in fitting it up for his accommodation. He was here met by archdeacon Barnes, (whose infirm state of health, at the time, had disabled him from attending him on the pier at his landing,) and by

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lieutenant-general the Honourable Sir Charles Colville, G.C.B. and his staff, who were waiting to receive him with due and customary honour. The Governor, the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, was, unfortunately absent on a tour in Guzerat, during the whole of the Bishop's stay; so that he was deprived of the gratification of any personal acquaintance with that most able and distinguished person. A letter to his friend Mr. Norris, written shortly after his arrival, will exhibit the state of his views and feelings at this period.

Bombay, March 8, 1821.

My dear Friend,

I arrived here about ten days ago, and found to my great comfort a few English letters; among others your two very interesting ones, of June 17, and July 28. You can have no idea how refreshing these things are to a weary pilgrim like myself, or rather a tempest-tost mariner, when he sets his foot ashore. It is, to speak orientally, as a well of water in the desert. My stay here will be five weeks, during which time (comprising the four first weeks of Lent,) I hope to preach, including an evening lecture, eleven times, besides delivering a charge to the clergy, and an address to the confirmed, examining the children of the school, and preaching for it, consecrating burying-grounds, &c. &c. The weather, however, is exceedingly hot, and of course

very adverse to exertion. But I must do what I can. The worst of it is, that all I can do, *scattered as I am over such a space,* is as nothing. And though, I thank God, I am free from all bodily disease, I do not feel that elasticity of spirits which I once possessed; and cannot but be sensible every moment that I am *impar oneri:* and I must become more so as years advance. I am already in my 53rd year, after which, even in a more temperate climate, man does not improve.

Since my arrival my time has been almost wholly taken up in receiving calls, and invitations to dinner, some of which, however, I am obliged to decline. I have, however, holden my visitation. The sermon was preached by Mr. Robinson, a son of the late Mr. Robinson of Leicester. I knew what I might expect from him,—good sense, good language, and good doctrine; and I was not disappointed."

The sermon above alluded to was printed with the Bishop's concurrence.

In a subsequent letter to the same correspondent, the latter part of which is dated March 31st, he says, "I am now within two or three days of my departure, and am fairly tired out. Yesterday I consecrated a burying-ground at some distance, and amidst intense heat. Immediately on my return, I was engaged for some

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hours on business with the archdeacons and the registrar, and in the evening (Friday) I preached. I have more business this morning, and in the afternoon must go to consecrate another burying-ground. To-morrow is Sunday: on Monday another burying-ground, with preparations for departure. On Tuesday, probably, I shall embark. . . . . Whether or not I shall be able to send, by a ship from Bombay, the college statutes, I know not. I have, in fact, more to do (and business of an anxious nature) than it is possible to perform satisfactorily in such a climate, where *I sit down to work* in a degree of lassitude, which I hardly ever experienced in England *at the end of it*. It is, indeed, commonly observed, that after the first four or five years, we feel the climate more and more every year, and gradually sink under it, without any visible disease. As to sending out any new man to this country at the age of forty-five or forty-six, to remain fifteen years,—that is, to be absent from England sixteen,—the experiment has never yet been made in any instance but my own; and of many persons so sent out, not more, probably, than one would ever return."

No institution in Bombay gave the Bishop greater satisfaction than the Education Society, to which he was a liberal benefactor. The central schools had been placed under an able master and mistress from the National Society

in London, and now maintained within their walls nearly 100 boys, and more than 50 girls, besides receiving a great number in the daily school. Such was the general interest excited in favour of the establishment, that the annual contributions from individuals, exceeded 18,000 rupees, about 2,000*l.* On the 15th of March, the children underwent a public examination before the Bishop, Sir Charles Colville, the members of council, the archdeacon, Lady Colville, and a numerous assemblage of the principal persons at the presidency. The Bishop strictly examined them, and having expressed himself highly gratified, distributed with his own hand the usual books and medals awarded to those who had made the greatest proficiency.

On the Sunday following, being the second Sunday in Lent, the Bishop, by desire of the managing committee, preached for the Society in St. Thomas's church; the sermon was printed by particular request. His text was from Matthew vii. 13: *Wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction.* After some general and judicious remarks on the awful truth conveyed in the text, the Bishop observed "that it supplied a motive to the discharge of two, the most momentous of our Christian duties: we are to be solicitous for our own salvation, and enquire whether we are ourselves by the grace of God in the narrow path

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which alone leadeth unto life; we are next to be careful for the salvation of others, and to guide them, if possible, in the right way. Considerations arising out of the former of these are, indeed, peculiarly well adapted to the present solemn season; but the latter seemed to prefer a stronger claim to your attention, when we advert to the special object of this address." "A general concern," (he continues), "for the salvation of all men, however unconnected with us, is the Christian frame of mind: it is, in fact, the highest and holiest charity, combined with a zeal for the honour of religion and the glory of God. In the discharge of the pastoral office, or even in the exercise of private friendship, or public charity, we must never despair of reclaiming the obdurate, even though they are far advanced in life: but experience holds out greater encouragements in the case of the young, who as yet cannot be said to have commenced their journey, either in the broad or narrow way, but have yet to choose. We can train them in such habits and sentiments, and cherish in them such dispositions, as will generally lead them to prefer the right way." From this introduction the Bishop proceeds to remark on the benefits of a Christian education, with particular reference to the class of persons, for whom he was now pleading:

"Education, then, is the instrument committed

by Providence to the hands of the Christian, who, moved by the alarming declaration in the text, that the majority of mankind are pursuing the road to death, would interfere to save some: and if we can conceive a case, in which it is especially incumbent upon Christians to exert themselves in such a work of charity, it is surely in the country which we now inhabit. The situation of the children of the poor in England, with all the dangers which attend it (and they are not few) is a state of security compared with that of poor European children in India. At home, to say nothing of the stupendous improvements recently introduced by the National Society, there have, for many years, been schools in most of the populous districts, in which the elements of Christian knowledge might be acquired: and employments for those who were industriously disposed, might always be found in agriculture, in manufactures, or in trade. There too, children bereft of their parents, have probably other relatives, who though, unable to render them effectual aid, can still afford them some protection: and the system of parish relief, (little as it is adapted to the present state of the country, so materially changed in its circumstances since that system was first established,) is yet such as to provide, that none shall actually perish. Besides all this, there is what may be denominated a *Christian influence*, which power-

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fully operates in a Christian land: the charity of individuals supplies, in some measure, any defect in the public institutions. How many children of faithful servants have always been sent to school by the benevolence of their employers: and even they who have not been regularly trained in Christian principles, are yet within the reach of them: they cannot be thrown into a situation, where the name of Christ is unknown; and the division of the whole country into parishes, in most of which there is a resident clergyman, and where the offices of religion are regularly administered, affords, if not a guarantee that all shall be trained in Christian knowledge, at least an opportunity of acquiring it, to all who, from any cause, shall be prompted to desire it.

But how stands the case with respect to India? It exhibits a gloomy contrast to the state of things which has now been detailed to you, bad as we are accustomed to consider it at home. Schools, adapted generally to the reception of poor Christian children, were till lately unknown in the distant provinces, and still are few. The employments open to the industry of those who are wholly without education, must, of course, in a country where the agriculture, and manufactures, and much of the trade, are in other hands, be very limited and precarious. A child too, who is here bereft of his parents, has probably not a relative or friend in the country: and

it often happens that of the two supports, which nature has given to helpless infancy, the one, which is frequently found in England to be the more efficient, is here nearly useless, or sometimes even worse than useless, in a Christian view. Through the influence of native mothers, the daughters at least, and sometimes the sons, of Europeans have been lost to the faith of Christ. There are cases, too, in which the father is ordered to Europe, and must leave his children behind him: the camp, or the barrack, or the bazar, is their only place of refuge. There have, indeed, been instances of the most generous and exemplary humanity, exercised by persons on whom the orphan has had no natural claims, and whose means of doing good have been exceedingly circumscribed: the ebullitions of truly Christian pity will burst forth, whenever the feeling is excited: but its operation must be partial and fortuitous, where public institutions are wanting, and charity is not organised into system. In this country, moreover, the objects of charity, of whom we are speaking, are exceedingly dispersed: their distresses, unless there be a motive to enquire for cases of distress, in the hope of relieving them, are not easily brought to light; the casualties and misfortunes, which befal the poor, are scarcely heard of. In a *Christian* neighbourhood nothing which deeply affects its meanest member, is unknown, or altogether

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without interest; but the state of society is here very different. In its most favourable circumstances, from its fluctuating nature, we hardly attain to an interchange of sympathies between the different classes, and but rarely between persons of the same class. And as to a generally pervading *Christian influence*, it is not to be expected: Christianity is not here sufficiently advanced; it covers too small a space: it is not always well established in the minds of those who come hither from a Christian country: and the probability is not very great, that it will afterwards gain an ascendency over them. We have here, speaking with reference to the extent over which our countrymen are scattered, but few churches, few clergy, and few Christian institutions: and Christian associations, strongly as they are felt in some minds, derive, for the most part, but little aid from local circumstances. Paganism is in possession of the millions who constitute the people: and it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to suppose, that it has not influences of its own, from the operation of which even Europeans are not altogether exempt.

"It was in such a state of things, and probably from the contemplation of circumstances such as those which have now been detailed, that your Education Society was first established, and commenced those labours of love, which appear thus far to have had the blessing of Al-

mighty God: the institution has, indeed, been munificently supported by the Christian community throughout this presidency; and it appears, as its merits are more generally understood, to be continually gaining strength. It might seem, then, superfluous to dwell upon its excellencies: at the same time, I should hardly fulfil the object of this day's solemnity, if I contented myself with general commendation, and abstained from all notice of the specific benefits which, with the continued blessing of God, these schools may be expected to produce.

"Chiefly, then, no doubt, and most obviously, will benefit redound to the individuals who are the objects of your care. View them only in their present state, and in connection with the prospects which are opening upon them, and then contrast with it what they probably *would* have been, if abandoned to their natural condition. The mind can hardly imagine any thing more wretched: poverty, and ignorance, and vice, and habits perhaps little removed from those of the lowest and most depraved of the natives, would, in the natural course of things, have been their portion: but what is the state in which you have actually placed them? It has nothing in it, which, in the estimation of the proud and the luxurious, might redeem it from contempt: but, in a Christian view, it is all which the well-being and even the happiness of man can

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require: food and raiment suited to their condition—Christian instruction, and that elevation of mind and character, which it almost invariably tends to inspire—habits of attention and industry—the practice of early piety—and such of the elements of useful knowledge, as may fit youth of both sexes respectively for subordinate, though useful, stations in life;—these are the benefits which you confer upon all whom you take under your protection. Without presumption we indulge a hope, that the seed thus sown will in very few instances be thrown away: similar institutions, which have been sufficiently long established to furnish the result of experience, have been blessed with abundant fruits. All experience, indeed, tends to prove, that education is the most powerful, and, at the same time, the most manageable engine of good which has been committed to man. In the fulfilment of prophecy, respecting the coming of Christ's kingdom, we may especially apply to the influence of Christian education that saying, that *the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose.*—Isaiah xxxv. 1.

"But the benefits which such an institution confers, are not confined to the individuals for whom they are immediately intended: the state will be a gainer in every instance, in which your labours of love shall not have been wholly ineffectual. On this point, indeed, I am well aware,

that the fears of some, and those, too, good and enlightened men, will not allow them to concur with me without considerable reservation, at least in the circumstances of India: it is, however, in those circumstances especially, that I would plead the cause of education. It is said, indeed, and truly said, that knowledge is power; but is it necessarily *hostile* power? And further, may we not expect, even if we withhold knowledge, that power will still exist; and that too decidedly and inveterately hostile to those interests, which we are most solicitous to maintain? To the former of these questions it may be answered, that the power conveyed by knowledge is not necessarily *hostile*. Mere knowledge, indeed, unaccompanied with any principles, which shall regulate or restrain it, is a tremendous implement of evil; and how to convey these principles is the problem which perplexes us with regard to the education, or, more properly, the instruction, of the natives. For, education is a different thing: we can give them knowledge, but we are for the present precluded from giving them religion. But this difficulty applies but very partially to the present institution: in these schools religion and useful knowledge are blended together: the mischiefs atten dant on mere knowledge are neutralised: they are more, I trust. Knowledge in minds which have been trained in Christian principles, con-

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stitutes a power, which will generally be subservient to good. But even if we withhold knowledge, will not power be created without our aid? and what will be its character? We know that at this moment the most noxious opinions, as they relate to religion, to morals, and to politics, the very opinions which threaten to subvert our constitution at home, are disseminated through every part of India: and on what class of persons are they calculated more immedately to operate? Not surely upon educated English gentlemen; nor, in the first instance, upon the natives: for they are hardly in a state at present to enter into such discussions, though they are advancing to it: but primarily and directly upon that very class of society, the children of which you are here training up in piety, and order, and submission to authority, and in grateful attachment to their benefactors; and many of whom, unless by such means we take care to have them with us, will, in any hour of trial, almost certainly be against us. To shut them out from *all* knowledge, if it were your policy, is not within your power. Such policy, indeed, could hardly be reconciled to any liberal or humane feeling: but we have not the means of adopting it. The children of the class, to which I refer, will acquire a knowledge and a power of evil, if we train them not in a knowledge of good. Causes are in operation, over

which we have no other control; and the question seems to be, whether when our bark is launched into the ocean, and the tempest begins to blow, we shall endeavour to steer the vessel through all dangers, or let it drive? *You* are adopting the former course; you give knowledge, indeed, which is power: it is the force which impels the vessel, and without which it were stationary and useless; but you labour to conduct it to the haven where it should be, by placing religion at the helm.

"But there is one other view in which your labours may be regarded, and which should be briefly noticed. You do not probably consider yourselves as directly advancing the Christian cause among the idolaters around you: *directly*, indeed you are not; but indirectly, I conceive, and largely, are you contributing to this desirable and blessed end; and in a way too, to which the most cautious and timid cannot possibly object. You are reforming the lower order of Europeans; and it cannot be doubted, that the habits of Europeans of the lower class, as well as those of their superiors, have had a considerable effect in retarding the progress of the Gospel. How, indeed, can we expect, that the heathen will forsake their idols, overpowered by the beauty of the Christian system, where they see it disfigured, and distorted, and rendered almost disgusting? With what consistency or common

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sense can we attempt to persuade them to believe in Christ, when professed believers are acting as if they were the most hardened of infidels? Or how shall we gain a hearing for the evidences of our faith, while we are strengthening, as much as we can, the prejudices against its truth? In the early ages, it was not by preaching alone, even after the cessation of the miraculous powers, that paganism was induced to take up the cross of Christ. It was by observing the surprising effects produced by the Gospel in the hearts and lives, not merely of eminent saints and preachers, but of the lowest among those who had embraced it. The Christians had a distinguishing character: they believed in Christ, and they bore in their habits the impress of their faith. They were more honest, more temperate, more peaceable, than the pagans, with whom they were liable to be compared. Men were not, indeed, thus to be immediately converted: but the tide of prejudice was turned, and they were ready to listen at least to the advocates of the Gospel, and to listen favourably. The inference was natural and just, that what was thus excellent in its effects, might probably be true. We shall have cause to bless God, if the day arrive, when the same presumption shall operate in favour of the Gospel in India: we may then presume to hope, that 'the redemption of this people draweth nigh.'

"But while I touch upon these collateral topics, let me not depress in your estimation the importance of that to which I first adverted, and which alone is your immediate concern; it is the saving of the souls of poor children for their own sakes, and for the sake of Christ. Their whole case is contained in the declaration of my text: *they are cast into a world, where wide is the gate that leadeth to destruction;* but under your parental guidance and love they are directed to seek the narrow path; and by God's blessing they shall find it. But while you exult in these happy expectations, and thank the God of all mercies for having used you as his humble instruments, let me remind all who hear me, that delightful as is the spectacle now before us, a very different one may be witnessed in the world. What are these children, numerous as they are, to the hundreds, who are still without? Before *them* the broad way and the wide gate are open still; and most of them will enter thereat, if there be none to divert them from their course. Labour, therefore, to increase the resources of this Christian establishment. Give of your abundance, if God hath blessed you; or withhold not of the little which he may have committed to your stewardship. Some trifling gratification, not essential to your happiness, and of which not a vestige would on the morrow perhaps remain, is the utmost sacrifice to be

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made in the amplest contribution. You are now called upon to make some sacrifice, whatever it may be, as an 'offering for a sweet smelling savour' unto Christ your Redeemer, who will graciously accept it, and place it among your 'treasure in Heaven.'"

The collection at the doors of the church amounted to nearly 1,300 rupees, about 140*l.*

The following extract from a letter to Mr. Ward has something of a melancholy interest, as it indicates the same apprehension of approaching infirmity and decay, which occasionally breaks out in his other correspondence; and as it exhibits the impression made on his spirits by the rapid fluctuations incident to Anglo-Indian Society.

Bombay, March 20, 1821.

My dear Friend,

I believe you know that I was pleased with Bombay when I was last here, four years and a half ago. The town is much the same, composed of old, and generally shabby buildings, placed upon a very beautiful spot: the harbour, indeed, studded with islands, (Elephanta one of them,) and having for the back ground noble hills on the main land, reminds me of the views of sea-ports in Italy. But though nature remains, man is evanescent: the society of the place in this short interval is very considerably changed: a new

governor, a new commander-in-chief, and members of council, a new recorder, &c. &c.: the clergy much the same, except that one is gone to the Cape in bad health, and the archdeacon sadly altered, and looking ten years older. At this rate, if my own life be preserved, I shall in a few years have outlived every body in India. People begin to consider Mrs. Middleton and myself as rather rare specimens; we have, I believe, much to be thankful for; but though we are for the present free from disease, I suspect we are growing old. In India, climate every year has a considerable effect. Mrs. Middleton indeed seems as active as ever; but I find that I cannot go through fatigue so well as I could. Perhaps the writing about such things, is rather symptomatic of decay.

We went yesterday (the first day which I could call my own,) with the commander-in-chief, Sir C. Colville, the archdeacon, and two or three others, to Elephanta, though we had seen it before: but the scenery is enough to repay the trouble; every body was highly pleased, and nothing could be more delightful. As to the cavern itself, you may see the best account of it that probably can be given, in the first volume of the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, by Mr. Erskine, who was one of the party yesterday, a man of great learning in all such matters. Even the Hindoo deities

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seem to feel the effects of time: I thought I perceived that some of them had suffered dilapidation since I saw them last.

I am sorry that I have hardly another fortnight to remain here; my whole stay will have been five weeks. I am delivering a Lent lecture, and in order to get through the course, I preach, not only on Friday, but on Sunday evenings, as well as on Sunday mornings, on other subjects. The exertion is considerable in such a climate, especially in the evening, when the heat is increased by the blaze of two or three hundred candles. Our united love to Mrs. Ward, and the family.

Yours ever affectionately,

T. F. Calcutta.

Before he left Bombay, the Bishop addressed an interesting letter to Mr. Monk of Trinity College, Cambridge, the successor of Porson in the Greek chair of that university; since promoted to the deanery of Peterborough; and, in 1830, most worthily elevated to the see of Gloucester. The former part of this communication is omitted, as it relates entirely to the foundation of Bishop's College, a subject nearly exhausted in other parts of this memoir. The remainder adverts to more general matters, and is here inserted.

Bombay, March 27, 1821.

My dear Sir,

. . . . . I have not been able since I left England to indulge myself in the luxury of reading Greek, nor, of course, to take precisely the same interest in your critical labours which I should have done under other circumstances. Here my time is almost wholly absorbed in official duties and correspondence; or if I am ever left at liberty to expatiate in any thing like enquiry, it is only into subjects connected, more or less remotely, with my duties; as into the condition, and opinions, and literature, such as it is, of the people around me. Even this, indeed, may sometimes contribute to illustrate classical antiquity. Homer, I observe, abounds in orientalisms, and has even oriental words, peculiar to himself, among the writers of Greece; and, having the Ion of Euripides with me, when I travelled among the pagodas in the south of India, I could not but feel that the manners and circumstances were brought before me in a degree which I could not have experienced in England. These eastern countries, indeed, teem with illustrations both of biblical and classical learning. Habits and usages which, in England, are matters of grave disquisition, here meet us in the streets!

But though I have not been able to read all that you have written in the way of criticism, I

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was much delighted with the stand which you made, in defence of the university, against *botanical invasion*. I know Sir J. E. Smith very well, and believe him to be, in every respect, but that of his theological opinions and connections, quite unexceptionable. But I quite agree with you, that if dissenters may be elected to fill professorships, even though it be to teach nothing more than botany, there is an end of Cambridge, as a grand seminary for those who are to be the pillars of the Church and State. Your pamphlet, however, contains a great deal of collateral matter, which every true son of Cambridge must have rejoiced to see brought fully and prominently before the public.

I have been here about a month on my visitation, and am, in a few days, to embark for Ceylon. The most remarkable class of natives here are the Parsees, who are, I doubt not, in their usages, and, I suspect, in their general appearance, very exact representations of the Persians who lived in the days of Herodotus. Among other things, either he, or some one of the Greek historians, (I forget which, and have not here the means of reference,) mentions that the Persians marry but once in the year, at the vernal equinox. The streets here have been crowded with Parsee processions, as a part of the nuptial celebration, and I have been almost deafened with their music. They retain not,

however, the ancient language of Persia, except in their sacred books, which they read, or rather sing, every morning and evening, standing on the sea-shore, *but without understanding a sentence.*

Mrs. Middleton accompanies me on these long voyages, and retains her health better than could be expected in this trying climate. I believe she is sufficiently known to you to be justified in offering her compliments.

I am, my dear sir,

With great esteem and regard,

Your very faithful servant,

T. F. Calcutta.

A particular and able account of the sacred books and religion of the Parsees, here mentioned by Bishop Middeton, may be seen in the second volume of the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, written by William Erskine, Esq. No religion on earth, that of the Jews excepted, has continued from such remote times as that of the Parsees, with so little apparent change of doctrine or ritual. The whole system is founded on the supposition of a continued warfare between good and evil spirits, which fill all nature; and religion is the art of gaining the aid of the former, and, by due observance of the law, of inducing them to assist the votaries of Ormazd, against the wiles and machinations of Ahrimân. The great visible objects of vene-

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ration are the elements, and especially fire. Light is regarded as the best and noblest symbol of the Supreme, who is without form. In consequence of this veneration for light and fire, the sun, moon, planets, stars, and the heavens themselves, are objects of peculiar respect; and in praying they delight to turn to them, especially to the rising sun. Xenophon, in his Cyropædia, represents the Persian Magi, as celebrating the gods in hymns from break of day, which agrees with the Persian ritual, and is conformable with the practice, as remarked by the Bishop in Bombay. It is Strabo who mentions [1] that the Persian marriages were celebrated at the vernal equinox; but in India the time is generally fixed by a Hindoo astrologer. They never bury the bodies of their dead for fear of defiling the earth; but leave them to moulder away, and to be consumed by the birds of prey. Their sokhmahs, or places of sepulchre, have often been described. They are round towers, having platforms or terraces near the top, sloping gently to the centre, in which is a round hole for receiving the bones and decayed matter. On these the dead bodies are laid exposed to the wind, rain, and to the birds of the air. The dead body is dressed in clean, but old clothes, and conveyed to the place of sepulture on an iron bier; the bearers

[1] Geogr. lib. xv.

are tied to each other by a piece of tape to deter, as they allege, by their union, the wicked demons who hover round the body from defiling them.

The Bishop, both at this time, and on his former residence at Bombay, received visits from Mulla Firoz, a destur, or priest, of the Parsees, held in high and just estimation, from his acknowledged literary superiority. The Parsees are remarkably free from such restraints as present the great obstacles to the improvements of the Mussulmans or Hindoos. They are more like Europeans than any other class of natives in southern Asia; and, being less restrained by ancient and acknowledged law, are more prepared to adopt any change of which they see the benefit. The number of Parsees in Bombay is estimated at 13,000; they are known to have emigrated originally from Persia, to avoid the persecutions of the Mahomedans.

The Bishop had often expressed an earnest desire to visit Poonah, Surat, and others of the principal stations under this presidency. But he was again warned by the season, which was already beginning to get warm, that he should scarcely be able to accomplish this, and to spend any time also in Ceylon, before the setting in of the south-west monsoon, early in June; by which time he was particularly anxious to be in Calcutta, where he had reason to expect the

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arrival from England of the first professors for the college, together with some important despatches from London. The omission, however, is perhaps the less to be regretted, as archdeacon Barnes had, with the Bishop's concurrence, taken on himself, personally, to visit the chaplains in his archdeaconry. But no provision was made for the expenses of archdeacons' visitations, and the Court of Directors have, to this day, declined to sanction any public disbursement for this necessary and important duty.

While the Bishop was at Bombay, he received the disagreeable intelligence that his name had been introduced into the House of Lords in the course of the evidence produced at the trial of the Queen. The reader will recollect that an attempt was made to vindicate the conduct of that illustrious lady, in being present at a dance of a very questionable description, in which a person by the name of Mahomet was the performer; and, among other topics of vindication, it was alleged, that a personage no less venerable than the Bishop of Calcutta had been present at a similar performance, exhibited at the government-house, by the invitation of the Governor-general. As a reference to the example of the Bishop on such an occasion was likely to be very mischievous, especially in society like that of Calcutta, his lordship did not lose a moment in

meeting it with a public contradiction : and that the sinister impression might not remain unefaced in this country, he immediately wrote home to request that the same contradiction might be inserted in the London newspapers. It will be proper that the reader should be in possession of the Bishop's own statement relative to this matter, contained in a letter to his friend Mr. Norris.

Bombay, April 7, 1821.

My dear Sir,

I now write, merely to request that you would get the paragraph relating to me in the enclosed newspaper copied into the Courier, or some other London paper. It appears that my name (I should have thought the thing impossible,) had been used in the House of Lords in the affair of the Queen ; and I suspect, from the tenor of a letter in the Courier of the 17th of October last, that some mirth was excited by the evidence. I have availed myself, as soon as possible, of the means of refutation : not that the charge is very serious ; but still, it represents me in no *very professional* point of view. The witness is a Mr. ———, an inmate in my family at the time. I suppose he is a zealous advocate for the Queen, and wished to shew that her amusements, of which so much had been said, were not more exceptionable than those of a certain bishop ! But, as his topic was no better than that Ma-

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homet must have danced decently before the Queen, because a Hindoo woman had danced decently at Calcutta, his evidence might have been spared. *The fact, however, of my being there, is utterly untrue.* He did me the favour of taking charge of the ladies of my family, while I remained with my books and business at home. I am not quite sure that I was asked, but I could safely swear that I was not there."

In a subsequent letter, to the same correspondent, he reverts to the same subject.

Calcutta, September 3, 1821.

My dear Sir,

In reply to that part of your letter which relates to her Majesty the Queen, I rejoice to find, from the latest accounts, that the *mania* has subsided, and that this august personage, as to any political influence or effect, now lives only in history. I hope from henceforth that she will be only an historical personage, and nothing more. After the escape which the country has had, I am almost ready to believe that, asbestos-like, it is indestructible by fire! My own unfortunate introduction into the House of Lords, I mentioned in a letter from Bombay as soon as I heard of it. Lord Hastings was very indignant at the dragging in of the subject of the government-house; and immediately wrote to the lord-

chancellor, explaining, as was the truth, that there had been *no dance* at his house, the mere movement of the woman's feet, while she was singing, not deserving the name. Lord Hastings sent me a copy of his letter, though I am not mentioned in it. The object is to shew that it mattered not who was there, which I believe to be perfectly true. I made no objection to Mrs. Middleton's going; nor should I to a daughter of sixteen, if I had one. *I never go, however, to any thing of the kind:* I have my reasons for it, and think it better not. My situation is very peculiar; and I would make any sacrifices to it, if such things were sacrifices, which is by no means the case. In truth, I have not time enough for what, directly or indirectly, constitutes duty; and if I go out at all, it is that I may not incur a degree of ill-will, which would make my endeavours more ineffectual than they are."

So much for this extremely absurd, but, it is to be hoped, not wilful or malicious, misrepresentation. In truth, if there was any one part of the character of Bishop Middleton, in which he was more invulnerable than another, it was in the tenor of his private life and personal habits. In these, he was a model of episcopal propriety and consistency. He had *his household in subjection with all gravity.* His

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family was a pattern of order and quiet, of decorum and of piety. His principle was to abstain even from going to the limits of what was lawful, well knowing that if he actually touched upon those boundaries, others would, most infallibly, step beyond them. His demeanour and life, in short, were a perpetual and visible lesson, not only to his clergy, but to the whole European community of Calcutta; and there can be no doubt that the influence of his example was such as to entitle him to the gratitude of every friend to virtue and religion. His presence, accordingly, gave a dignity to the ecclesiastical body which it never had before; and it was remarked by one of the chaplains who returned to India from England in 1817, that he perceived, even then, a most astonishing alteration in the public mind and the state of manners at Calcutta. It is not, however, to be inferred from all this, that the habits of the Bishop were unsocial or morose. He maintained during the whole of his life in India a liberal hospitality, such as became a Christian prelate; and no man was better fitted than he to grace the moderate enjoyments of the table with the pleasures of rich and varied conversation. But nothing that savoured of frivolity or levity ever had any sanction or countenance from him. He came to India for the purpose of accomplishing a mighty and sacred work; and to that

work he was devoted, with all his resources and all his faculties. To him, a waste of time, or a waste of moral influence, appeared to be almost sacrilegious. It was, accordingly, notorious that his life was one of severe and almost incessant labour. It was observed of him, after his death, by a most respectable native, who had been in his employ, and who almost worshipped his memory, that "*Lord Middleton* was always to be found in his library—always among his papers and his books—always writing or reading —always doing business—morning, noon, and night!" Nothing could well be more ridiculous than the insinuation that such a man would lower himself by appearing at a *nâtch*, or at any thing which had the slightest resemblance to one. He was once, indeed, invited by one of the rich natives to witness the celebration of one of their greatest festivals, the Doorga Poojah, with an assurance that the *dancing* should cease the instant he appeared. It is needless to add, that he declined the invitation.

The following letter, written to the author the day after the Bishop's embarkation, gives a very pleasing retrospect of his visitation at Bombay. It is dated on board the ship *Susan*, near Bombay, April 10, 1821:

"It is not very easy to write to our friends when we are at sea; and yet there is no situation in which I am more apt to think of mine.

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Committed to the wide world of waters, it seems natural for the mind to turn to the world from which we are separated; and, in that world, there is but little of any real value to us, but the few contained in it whom we respect and esteem; and who, as we flatter ourselves, are actuated by somewhat of a kindred sentiment in return. . . . . You will observe, that I date from my ship. I left Calcutta three months ago, and after passing six weeks at Bombay on my visitation, I embarked for Ceylon, meaning, however, to stop two or three days at Cochin, to have an interview, if possible, with my old acquaintance the bishop of the Indo-Syrians. My time at Bombay has been passed very pleasantly. Indeed I have a strong affection for the place. The town is old and shabby, but the situation is beautiful. The harbour studded with hilly islands, and having a back ground of purple mountains, has been considered, by those who have seen both, to be equal with the Bay of Naples. I cannot make the comparison; but it is a picturesque spot; and I sometimes think that, when worn out with fatigue, and become more useless than ever, and having any reason to conclude that I was forgotten by all in England, I could be well content to sit down in a cottage on one of its bold and breezy promontories, there, in *a Christian sense, Ducere solicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ.* But while I write thus of

Bombay, I would not have you think that I have been merely enjoying the beauties of the scene. I have been holding my visitation and a confirmation, and have examined the schools, and have preached for them, and have been consecrating burying-grounds, and have been in the pulpit twice, and generally three times, in a week (it being Lent) during my stay. The governor, Mr. Elphinstone, is absent on a tour in the provinces: but his representative, Sir Charles Colville, has been abundant in his attentions, and even accompanied me to the pier when I embarked. This morning we passed within a mile of the *Leander*, Admiral Sir Henry Blackwood, who knew my ship, *and in courtesy lowered his topsails.* How strange is the life of a bishop in this country."

In the same letter he adverts, with pride and satisfaction, to the appointment of Mr. Mill to the office of principal of the rising college at Calcutta. "I am glad," he says, "to find that my principal professor, (for the *principal* must *profess* and even *teach*), is a Fellow of Trinity (πρόσωπον τηλαυγὲς), Mr. Mill, a man of great talent, I expect. He and his colleague, Mr. Alt, of Pembroke, arrived at Calcutta soon after my departure. Mr. Alt is said to be eminent in Hebrew; you are probably aware that the Arabic Professor Lee was a candidate for the first place, and that Mr. Whittaker, the champion who slew Bellamy, wished much to have it.

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This is noble competition, and does honour to the projected institution."

Part of the above extracts, it will be observed, are somewhat tinged with the melancholy, arising from the anxious solicitude of his office, which more or less pervades his correspondence, and which became deeper as the weight of years and difficulties increased upon him. In the midst of his most gratifying duties, the sense of feebleness and decay would occasionally steal over his spirits. It may not be without its use to record these painful vicissitudes of feeling—these ebbings and flowings of hope and animation. They may teach us one invaluable lesson, that our usefulness is not to be estimated by the *discernible* progress which, at any particular moment, we are making in our pursuits, or by the distinctness of our perceptions as to the hopefulness of our labours. Here was a man placed in a position of arduous responsibility, constantly harassed with apprehensions that he was toiling in vain—that he was consuming his strength for nought—and writing characters on the sand; and who, yet, was, all this while, engraving on the rock—was engaged in a work which would be as an everlasting possession to posterity—was doing nearly all, that individual energy could do, towards improving the condition of the human race—and was impressing, as it were, an indelible memorial of himself on

all succeeding generations. Of him it might be truly said, that *when he was weak, then was he strong*—when he was weighed down to the earth with a sense of his own infirmity, then was he in the very plenitude and potency of his usefulness. To him was, perhaps, denied the satisfaction of surveying clearly the good of which he was the honoured instrument; for, if a life of faith, rather than sight, becomes each individual Christian, much more is to be expected in a shepherd and bishop of the Christian Church. To us, however, who look back upon his history, his prosperous advance in the work whereto he was appointed, is a matter of triumphant certainty; and it is not, surely, presumptuous to hope that the contemplation of it may, in a better world, be his own eternal and exceeding great reward.

Among the distressing trials which he had to encounter, may be reckoned the occasional opposition and interference of the authorities at home. This, perhaps, was a source of difficulty which might not unreasonably have been anticipated. It was hardly to be expected that a new office should be introduced into the Indian system, without calling into action some degree of jealous vigilance. It should, however, be mentioned, to the honour of the British residents in India, that, whenever they were left to their own natural impulses, they habitually testified the

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deepest respect for the Bishop and his office; that they gave the most munificent support to his designs—that they invariably received his suggestions with deference and thankfulness,—and listened with reverence and delight to his admirable discourses.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Bishop lands at Cochin—Interview with the Syrian bishop—Arrival at Colombo—Ordination of Mr. Armour—Attention of Sir Edward Barnes—Intended entertainment to the Bishop—Extracts from Mr. Hawtayne's journal—Mrs. Gibson's school at Point de Galle—Mission at Cuddalore.

On the 10th of April, the Bishop sailed from Bombay, and, on the 19th, landed at Cochin, for the purpose of observing the condition of the Syrian Church, and of paying a visit of respect and honour to its metropolitan. He had heard it stated that there was great reason to hope for a rapid approximation of this ancient and venerable community to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and that it was actually in contemplation to introduce the English Liturgy into the Syrian service. Part of a letter of the Bishop's, to Mr. Norris, dated at sea, April 21, 1821, Coast of Travancore, will best shew the result of his enquiries on this subject.

. . . . . "I was with the Syrian bishop yesterday from seven till nine, A.M., having no

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other person present but an interpreter, whom I could trust. The result is, that the Syrians are much in the same state in which I left them four years and a half ago; that there is no visible approximation to the Church of England; and that, if ever there should be, it will be communicated to the bishop of that Church in India. The Church missionaries do, indeed, expound in their own church to all who will hear them; and this is well received by the people, to whom it is something new; but the bishop assures me that nothing is done which he has any reason to complain of. . . . . The bishop resides at the Syrian college, where the missionaries act as professors. He told me that they had not begun to print at the Syrian college. I told him that we would have a Syrian press at the college at Calcutta, if he would send me one of his clergy to assist me. He smiled, and said he did not think any of them could be prevailed upon to go to such a distance: they were very unwilling to quit their own parishes for more than a day at a time. However I think I shall get one of them over. We should print in Syriac, as well as in the learned languages; and the time, I hope, will come, when the college of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, will be as famous for its learned publications as the Romish Propagandâ."

After this interview, the Bishop re-embarked;

and on Easter-day, April 22, he was off Cape Comorin; from which he thus continues his letter: CHAP. XXIII. 1821.

"I am now off the most southerly point of the continent of India, amidst some of the finest scenes I ever beheld; a rather low coast, fenced in with rocks, and of which the soil is a rich red, chequered with green groves; with "Pelion upon Ossa," in the rear, and the coast studded with villas, and villages, and *churches*. I have been performing the whole of the duty, the prayers, the sermon, and the sacrament, without any help; and the day being one of the hottest I have ever known, I am somewhat tired; and yet there is a singular pleasure in solemnizing our blessed service in such a spot, though but few were gathered together. Mrs. Middleton, the captain, and the first officer, made up my whole congregation; the other mate being a Romanist, and the rest of the crew either Romish or Mahometan."

His next visit was to Ceylon, where he was received with the most marked respect. A furnished house had been prepared for his accommodation, lately inhabited by Sir Alexander Johnstone, chief justice, who had very recently sailed for England. It was pleasantly situated at Colpetty, a collection of agreeable residences along the shore, about three miles distant from the "King's House" in the Fort.

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His occupations, during his short and busy residence there, shall be described in his own words[1]:

"I have passed between five and six weeks in Ceylon, which have not been unemployed. The weather indeed was very sultry, my residence was not the coolest, and I was a mile and a quarter from the church, with no other conveyance than a palanquin. However, I bless God there was only one day on which my strength failed me, and I became wholly useless. During my stay I had a visitation, two confirmations, three consecrations of churches or burying-grounds, preached four times, and *resuscitated* the Promoting of Christian Knowledge district committee, and looked into the state of the schools; and, what is of most consequence, I got together a body of information respecting the ecclesiastical affairs, which will furnish matter for a paper to be addressed to his majesty's government. I may add, I believe, that I have so far explained the objects and advantages of the college, with reference to Ceylon, that it will not want patronage and support in that quarter. In all this, I trust that some little good has been done; and I mention it more in the way of thankfulness than from any other cause. Without, indeed, some faint hope that my endeavours

[1] In a letter, dated Bay of Bengal, June 7, 1821.

to advance the good cause were accepted of Providence. I could not endure the weariness of these frequent voyages, and the severance from my friends and all congenial society."

In adverting to the resuscitation of the district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Bishop refers to the necessity which he found of animating, by his presence and superintendence, the movements of that valuable auxiliary, which, during his long absence, had become comparatively languid. His lordship, however, experienced but little difficulty in reforming and invigorating its proceedings. In performing this duty he had the ready co-operation of the governor, Sir Edward Barnes [1], who, at the Bishop's desire, summoned a meeting of the committee, at which Sir Edward, as representative of royalty, took the chair; but left the conduct of the proceedings to the Bishop, whom he assisted, on this occasion, not merely by his presence, but by his intelligent counsels and suggestions. "I ought in justice to add," says the Bishop, "that the governor increased his attentions to me during my stay, till nothing really could surpass them. To his honour be it said, he attended every solemnity in which I was engaged, (a thing of great importance with respect

[1] Whom the author has the honour to number among his school-fellows and early friends.

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to the natives,) and, having a country-house seven miles from Colombo, on the way to Galle, where I was to embark, he went over on purpose to give me a breakfast there, and to bid me farewell. A grand entertainment was to have been given me, in the preceding week, in a beautiful temporary structure, on the road to Kandy; but when all the preparations had been made, in a manner which had never been surpassed, to the governor's heavy disappointment, as well as my own, a deluge came down from the mountains, and laid the road under water, so as to cut off our approach. The governor, Sir E. Barnes, is one of the most distinguished of the Waterloo generals, and certainly a man of great talent." It must have been signally gratifying to the Bishop to find in so illustrious a representative of the king, the most cordial ally of the Established Church.

The result of the meeting of the committee, which has been above adverted to, was, on the whole, extremely satisfactory. The Bishop's proposition for translating the Society's tracts was very cordially received. "Almost every member present," he says, "declared that he would transfer his subscription from the present tract society to the tract fund of the district committee. Thereupon I presented to the fund the 300*l.* placed at my disposal by his Majesty's government, and promised (which I have done

in my letter to Dr. Gaskin,) to write to the Society for a press."

The mention of all these particulars, it is presumed, can by no means be censured as useless. They illustrate powerfully the necessity of constant episcopal direction in ecclesiastical affairs. In the moral, as well as in the physical world, the communication of perpetual motion is beyond all human effort. Without frequent renewals of the original impulse the noblest designs are apt gradually to sink into feebleness and languor, till, at last, they are in danger of irretrievable failure: a consideration which pleads most urgently for an increase of the efficacy and of the resources of episcopal government throughout the whole of our Asiatic dependencies. Such, indeed, appears to have been the feeling of his Majesty's government, whose wish, the Bishop observes, it evidently was, that he should pass some small portion of every year in Ceylon; it was, accordingly, his intention to go thither as often as possible. "But then," he adds, "the distance is considerable, (1200 miles,) and I have not annually a ship at my command. It is, in fact, only by the courtesy of the East India Company that I can visit it at all. The college, too, will occupy a good deal of time. But while my health lasts, I am content to give up every hour to objects of this kind."

The most interesting occurrence at this visita-

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tion, was the ordination of Mr. Armour. This extraordinary man came out to Ceylon originally as a private soldier; but subsequently he took upon himself almost the work of an evangelist among the natives, who maintained a mere nominal profession of Christianity, always conducting his ministrations in strict conformity with the services and doctrines of the Established Church. For this purpose he had completely mastered the difficulties of the Cingalese language, in which he was able to address the natives with fluency and precision. He had also attained the familiar use of Dutch and Portuguese. To these acquirements he added a tolerable acquaintance with Latin, and some knowledge of Greek. The Baptists, and other dissenters, had frequently and urgently invited him to join their communion. He had always firmly declined their proposals. His heart's desire was that, at some time, he might be thought worthy to be received as an ordained missionary in our Church. He laid his journal before Bishop Middleton, confessing, at the same time, with deep humility, that his ministerial labours had been hitherto without sanction or commission. He trusted, however, that this irregularity would not be very heavily imputed to him as presumptuous: since his ministry had been exercised among thousands who must otherwise have been left wholly destitute of all religious instruc-

tion or pastoral care. The Bishop listened to his story with the profoundest interest, and even compared his labours, sufferings, and privations with those of Paul; for, assuredly, like the Great Apostle, he was *in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the wilderness, in weariness and painfulness, in deaths often, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often,*—besides that which daily pressed upon his heart, the care of thousands, who were to be sought in rugged forests and pestilential jungles. After a close examination into his religious views, and his personal character, the Bishop was fully satisfied. It was evident that he was a sound churchman, and a most exemplary and pious man. His whole soul was devoted to the service of God, and his truly Christian demeanour had won for him the cordial esteem of all ranks of men. The Bishop therefore felt that there could be no reasonable objection to compliance with his earnest wishes, and, without further hesitation, ordained him deacon.

It has been mentioned above that the governor had prepared a splendid entertainment for the Bishop, on the day previous to his lordship's intended departure. The spot fixed upon for this festivity was about eight or ten miles from Colombo, and would have given him an opportunity of viewing a road which had recently been

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completed, with a bridge over one of the streams of Ceylon. The mode of entertainment by which Sir Edward Barnes had intended to testify his respect for the Bishop, is in some respects so peculiar, that the reader will probably be interested by a description of it, which, together with some other interesting particulars, has been supplied by the kindness of Mr. Hawtayne, who attended his lordship during the whole of this visitation.

"An edifice, in the style of a large Gothic cathedral, in compliment to the Bishop, had been erected, after the Cingalese fashion of embellishing their own houses, and now in general use at the King's House, and among all the English community, on public entertainments. It is difficult to describe the construction of these fairy fabrics, light, and elegant, and beautiful in the extreme. That prepared for this occasion was formed on a strong wooden frame, fashioned into Gothic arches and ceiling, of the height and extent of an English cathedral. The immense poles, which formed its chief support, were richly ornamented with the leaves of the cocoa-nut palm, (which, in Ceylon, surpasses all Indian vegetation in verdure) split in a mode quite peculiar to the country; so cut open as to exhibit a much paler green and white. The ceiling is of white calico, decorated with borders and draperies of a variety of flowers and fruits,

made in the form of garlands. The groins in the Gothic arches, on this occasion, were composed of such garlands of equal size. In short, from the description of a pattern, drawn for the purpose, it was considered, by the natives themselves, as the most magnificent ever erected in Ceylon, surpassing them all in extent and splendour. Every preparation was completed for the next day's entertainment, and all the conveyances of the governor and his numerous party were to be ready early in the morning. The Bishop was dining at the King's House, when a sudden change of weather occurred in the evening, followed by a very stormy night. Sir E. Barnes's apprehensions were more than realised; those splendid structures were wholly demolished, while the swelling of the river had damaged the bridge, and broken up a part of the new made road. This was a cause of general and severe disappointment; and the only reparation Sir Edward could make to the Bishop (whose journey to Point de Galle, 75 miles, was delayed for two or three days more), was to prepare a splendid breakfast at Mount Lavinia, his country-seat, six miles from the fort. In the mean time the road, for the whole distance, was put in complete order, and dressed up, according to custom, for the journey of the governor, members of council, judges, and then for the Lord Bishop. At the entrance of each district

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the chief modelier, the highest rank of nobility, —attended by the mohundurams, the second rank,—were bound by ancient usage to await the arrival of the traveller, to receive him with all due respect, and to provide any refreshment which might be required. According to this rule, on entering each district, the Bishop passed under an arch across the road, erected in the style already described. So also in crossing each of the clear streams, several of which occur in the course of that long journey, he was received on each bank in one of those small fancy summer-houses; while another was placed in every boat to shade his party from the sun. Archdeacon Twisleton accompanied the Bishop to the residence of Mr. Gisborne, of the civil service, married to his daughter, where every preparation was made for his lordship for dinner, and accommodation for the night."

"In this first day's journey his lordship had visited a small church lately built, and served by a Cingalese minister, who presents a very singular case; this person, being the son of one in the highest rank of their ancient nobility, bearing the title of 'Modelier of the King's Gate.' He was sent by his father, (who still retains his original condition as a Buddhist) with a cousin, to England for their education. The minister of this church was placed at Exeter College, under the charge of the Rev.

Mr. Dolby, and, having been satisfactorily prepared, was ordained for the colonies by Dr. Howley, then bishop of London. Having married a respectable English gentlewoman, he returned to Colombo, where of necessity he lived entirely separated from his own family. After having enjoyed for so long a period free intercourse with the best society in England, he was cruelly disappointed at finding himself excluded from it on his return to his native country. Bishop Middleton exerted all his influence in his favour, and invited him to his own table. The Bishop was much delighted with his visit to Ceylon, feeling greatly interested in the prospect presented to him by the numerous body of native Christians, and especially those under Mr. Armour's superintendence. He expressed a wish, if possible, to reside there one year in three; and had almost decided on purchasing a residence there for that purpose."

"His Majesty's government had ordered a sum of 300*l.* to be paid to the Bishop on his triennial visitations to Ceylon for Christian purposes. This arrangement becoming known to a large community of descendants from the Dutch, many of whom were of the most respectable rank, but now in a state of extreme poverty and want, and who, supposing that the sum might be intended for charitable relief, came in hundreds to his residence one morning, presenting a painful scene

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of misery: they could scarcely be made sensible of their mistake, and were waiting at the door till the night came on. I had a small, well-furnished cottage," says Mr. Hawtayne, "close to the Bishop's residence, lent to me by Mr. Boyd, a member of council. I was very unwell at the time, and just as I had sate down to my little dinner at three o'clock, two elderly gentlewomen, decently but poorly clothed, and looking starved, came and courtesied to me, stating their disappointment. I rose and gave them my dinner, which they ate voraciously; they came and knelt down before me, weeping bitterly and blessing me, and took a most respectful and affecting leave."

"On the second night of the Bishop's journey they were obliged to take up their residence at one of the government rest-houses, where the modelier and mohanduram, with their establishment, were waiting for his lordship. The heat and inconvenience of this place were almost insufferable."

"They proceeded very early the next morning to the last rest-house, twelve miles from Point de Galle, where Mr. Blitterman, the collector of the district, was waiting for the Bishop, having sent some accommodation for his breakfast, with a change of palanquins. The King's House at the town was prepared for the reception of the party, and they were entertained most hospitably

at dinner by Mr. Blitterman at his own house. The Bishop the next day visited a large establishment of boys and girls formed by Mrs. Gibson, the lady of an English agent here. This charitable asylum was founded upon the purest motives of humanity, and superintended with the most unremitting assiduity. During a severe famine, some years since, many of the wretched natives perished by the road side, and left their orphans in a state of misery and want, which warmly interested the feeling and benevolence of this excellent lady. She rescued several from starvation, and continued to feed and clothe them. She formed two separate schools, which she managed herself with unceasing activity. The boys were taught trades, and some were already tolerable carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers. The girls learnt lace-making and needle-work. English, Cingalese, religious and moral lessons, were daily taught, and on Sundays the children attended Divine service in the Fort. The government judiciously extended their liberality, by a donation of 100 rix dollars per month, to this institution. And the Bishop was so much pleased with this infant Christian establishment, that he presented a handsome donation, and Mrs. Middleton gave an order for some needle-work to be sent to Calcutta."

A portion of a letter written by the Bishop to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge

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is given here, to evince that, in the midst of other cares, both his own attention, and that of the admirable secretary to the Madras committee, were constantly alive to the cause of the southern missions.

At sea, Bay of Bengal,
June 5, 1821.

I have for some time past had some papers before me from Madras, respecting the affairs of the Cuddalore mission. . . . . It was unfortunate that at the time of Mr. Holzberg's dismissal, no other missionary was sent out to fill his place. Though dismissed, he appears to have continued to act, as heretofore, in the Society's concerns; and the property is in a sadly dilapidated state. *Mr. Clarke, whose zeal for the interests of the Society never sleeps, and whose good sense always discerns what is best to be done,* has moved the Madras committee to institute an inquiry into the state of the Cuddalore mission, and the other missionaries have been written to on the subject. At all events I should recommend that Cuddalore should be considered as a vacant station, so far, at least, as that the Society should look out for a successor to Mr. Holzberg, who should retire upon a pension. He complains that he was dismissed upon the single testimony of a person of abandoned character. At any rate he can never be efficient. T. F. Calcutta.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Bishop returns to Calcutta—Arrival of professors Mill and Alt—Publication of the "Appeal" by Rammohun Roy—Bishop Middleton's letters to a learned Hindoo—Fluctuating character of European society in India—Various modes in which Christianity is exhibited in India—Death of Mr. Jones, the architect of Bishop's College—Proposed Collegiate Institution of the Baptists at Serampore—Progress of the buildings at Bishop's College.

On his return to Calcutta, the Bishop had the satisfaction of finding there Mr. Mill and Mr. Alt, who had arrived from England in the February preceding; the one (as we have seen) to fill the office of principal, the other that of a professor at Bishop's College. To these appointments the Bishop had long looked forward with a very natural anxiety, more especially the latter; since the future prosperity and honour of the institution might, in a considerable measure, depend upon the character of its first president. In Mr. Mill he had the satisfaction to find (as he had anticipated) a person admirably fitted to do justice to his own exalted views respecting the duties and capacities of the establishment. He describes that gentleman as a man of *noble attainments,* such as he had never before met

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with in India. Every thing he saw of the new principal impressed him with a high opinion of his powers. And it may here be added, that all their subsequent intercourse gave his lordship the amplest cause for rejoicing that the Society had provided him with so able, accomplished, and zealous a co-operator. In a subsequent letter (October 29, 1821), the Bishop writes thus of Mr. Mill:—"His attainments are, indeed, pre-eminent. It would be an honour to any learned establishment to have such a man at the head of it. I sometimes converse with him two or three hours together upon books, and their subjects; and knowing pretty well, as I do, the measure of men's minds here, I will take upon me to say that his knowledge, both in *area* and in *depth*, has nothing equal to it in India."

In other respects, the scene to which the Bishop returned from his travels did not promise similar satisfaction or encouragement. In the first place, it was impossible for him to observe, without pain, that fresh dangers seemed to be arraying themselves against the cause of genuine Christianity in India, and from a quarter that, of all others, might have been the least suspected. It has already been stated, that a Brahmin, by the name of Rammohun Roy, had recently renounced the grosser absurdities of his national creed, though without becoming even half a convert to Christianity; and his first con-

siderable exploit, in his new character, was to publish an "Appeal" to the Christian world, to extinguish what he was pleased to term the *polytheism* of the Trinity! "And, certainly," says the Bishop [1], "he makes out his case quite as well as Lant Carpenter or Belsham. It was but the other day that Christians were considered as bound to be cautious how they attacked the follies of the Hindoos; nay, indeed, the feeling still prevails, and now a Hindoo comes forward to reform Christianity, and to attack the follies and prejudices of the whole Catholic Church of Christ, whom he denominates *a sect*." That the light which had dawned upon himself might not be hidden from his countrymen, Rammohun, it seems, was busy in translating his work into the native languages, for the instruction of his countrymen. And, what was the most curious particular of the whole history, it was understood that he had derived material assistance in its composition from a Christian, who had been formerly of the Baptist persuasion, but who, in attempting the conversion of the Brahmin to the doctrine of the Trinity, became himself a convert to the deism of his catechumen, and actually set up an Unitarian chapel in Calcutta! "It is unquestionably my duty," says the Bishop, "to take up the question,

[1] In a letter to Mr. Norris, dated Sept. 3, 1821.

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provided I can find time for it. But a slight answer would be worse than nothing. It requires a volume. The writing, however, of a volume is not the whole difficulty: the printing is as difficult; for the expense here is ruinous, three times what it is in England. And, besides, there is no sale. I question whether, according to the prevailing notions here, the Bishop could print for sale. If it were not treated as trading, it would be thought mean. He ought to give away all the copies; to which there is this objection—that, thus, they who will not read a book, possess it, while they who want it, go without." It will easily be conceived that a circumstance like this must have been deeply distressing to a person like Bishop Middleton, whose whole faculties were wrapped up in the one grand purpose of his mission, and whose spirits were kept in a state of perpetual excitement by the multitude of harassing anomalies with which his peculiar situation surrounded him. To us, who survey the scene with something approaching to the composure of spectators, it will present little more than a result that might reasonably be expected from the operation of revealed truth upon ill-disciplined understandings. Of the numbers who were invited to examine the Scriptures, it might have been anticipated that there would be some who would corrupt the simplicity of the Gospel—who would

suffer *philosophy and vain deceit to make a sport of them;* and who, *professing themselves to be wise, would become fools.* And yet it may readily be imagined, that a perversion of this description might seriously aggravate the burdens of a mind, brought into close contemplation of the evil, while bowed down with the pressure of other manifold discouragements. It is, however, satisfactory to be assured that he did not waste his spirits and faculties in the expression of fruitless regret. He vigorously addressed himself to the evil before him in the manner which, as he states above, he conceived to be incumbent on him. He occupied himself in preparing a formal answer to the Deistical Brahmin, under the title of Letters to a Learned Hindoo. His materials for this intended publication, were in a state of considerable forwardness at the time of his death; but, unhappily, they shared the same fate to which the interpretation of his last will consigned his other papers,—with the exception of a portion of the second letter, which remained at the Bishop's death in the hands of Mr. Hawtayne, to whom the whole had been given for transcription. The fragment in question is rather too long for insertion into the text of this narrative, and is therefore reserved for the Appendix. It relates principally to the possibility, and antecedent probability, of Revelation; a topic, the discussion of which was rendered indispensable by an

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assertion of the Hindoo disputant, that he was acquainted with several Europeans and Asiatics, who doubted whether a Revelation were *possible*. With regard to this most absurd and extravagant imagination, the Bishop shews that it far outruns the scepticism even of Chubb, or Morgan, or Bolingbroke himself; and that besides, it profanely and madly calls in question the omnipotence of God, and makes his Supreme Majesty to bow down before the phantom of an eternal and independent fitness of things. And then, as to the necessity or expediency of a revelation, he denies the justice of any inference against it, which might be drawn from the respectable lives of persons who profess to reject all revelation. "Christianity," he observes irresistibly, "has shed its light upon human life, upon the opinions, the habits, the views, and the judgments of men, and it is blended with them, whether they cordially receive it or not; and no other solution can be given of the fact, that the relations of life, its duties, and its charities, hold a degree of importance, even among unbelievers, which was utterly unknown among the wisest and the best men who lived before the era of the Gospel. Still there is a proud disdain of being thought under any obligation to it. It is much the same kind of perverseness as that, which should induce a man to pass all the days of his life in a dark chamber, and to pursue his occupation by moon-

light, for the satisfaction of saying that he owed nothing to the sun;—and this, after all, would not be true!"

Whilst such various responsibilities engaged the ardent mind of Bishop Middleton, he would at times, be painfully sensible of one peculiarity in Indian Society, which must force itself on the attention of all who have resided there for any length of time, and that is the transitory and fluctuating character of its European population. This circumstance is occasionally mentioned by the Bishop in his correspondence; and it is somewhat mournfully alluded to in the letter from which our last extracts have been taken. He had stated that the Marquis of Hastings was expected to return to England, and that all the world in Calcutta were employed in conjecturing, who would, probably, be his successor. With that successor, says the Bishop, "I shall have to begin *de novo*, whoever he may be; and in half a year more I shall have seen out all the persons in high station here. They will all have returned to England, while I am left behind. This is rather a gloomy part of my case; and, in fact, in almost every company, I cannot help observing how few persons are present, who were here on my arrival!"

The evils arising from the various modes in which Christianity is presented to the natives of India, are feelingly alluded to in his very next

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communication to Mr. Norris, dated Calcutta, October 29, 1821.

"I believe I told you about Rammohun Roy in my last. The Bengalese are now publishing a Monthly Magazine of about twenty pages in each number, attacking Christianity, especially the Trinity. They insist on our explaining it to them, or else confessing, that our religion is quite as absurd as we make their own to be. Never was there such a revolution in the state of things: good will, however, come of it *in the end*, though *the end*, probably, *will not be yet*. It is somewhat to raise these people from their torpor, and to set them thinking,—they may in time think better. I believe I mentioned that, in Calcutta, we have an Unitarian chapel opened, which has arisen entirely out of the opinions of Rammohun Roy. I hear also that Dr. Bryce is coming out, with a Presbyterian schoolmaster, to revive the Scotch Church; and all the principal gentry of Calcutta, including the Governor-general, the counsellors, the judges, &c. &c., aided by the government, in the name of the Company, have been subscribing for a very handsome Popish chapel at Dum-Dum (the artillery station, seven miles distant), for the use of the soldiers,—so that religion may be said to flourish here! I suppose there is no capital in the world in which it exists under so many forms. Besides the Church of England, we have Presbyterians, In-

dependents, Baptists, Unitarians, Papists, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, all of them with some place of worship, besides Parsees (the followers of Zoroaster, or Zurdusht), Hindoos, and Mahometans. In such a state of things it is not possible to expect that Church principles should be very well understood, or much regarded; they have, in fact, no advocates who come forward and publicly maintain them. The question here seems to be between Christianity and Paganism; and a pretty general indifference what sort of Christianity shall prevail in the contest."

In addition to other causes of solicitude, the Bishop at this time had a severe trial to endure in the loss of Mr. Jones, the gentleman with whom he had contracted for the building of the college, and who died towards the end of September, 1821, after an illness of two or three days. Any interruption to this noble work would have weighed most heavily on his spirits: but the loss of the able and zealous contractor, by whom it was begun, was felt by him almost as a personal calamity. In the first place, it threatened him with all the troubles and perplexities of a fresh contract; and, what was still worse, with the probability of great additional expense. Besides, he anticipated the greatest difficulty in finding a person at all equal to the task of completing the work in the same admirable style in which it had been commenced. "The build-

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ings," he observes to archdeacon Barnes[1] "are brought up to the level of the first floor of the second story: but more than half the masonry is done, considering the vast mass of foundation. *It seems to be admitted that finer work was never seen in this country;* and poor Jones was pleased with it himself. *He was all heart about his undertaking,* and was just beginning to see the effect produced. The grand entrance to the hall and chapel, a Gothic arch, seventeen feet high, and ten wide, is finished on the south side, and very nearly so on the northern. I saw it a few evenings since, chiefly by flashes of lightning; and, as unfinished buildings look like ruins, it reminded me of some ancient abbey gate. He has executed my idea admirably. But the chapel roof is the part in which he would have shewn himself to the best advantage; and here is my perplexity: but the plan cannot now be altered. The frames of the chapel windows are in, and the skeleton of the great eastern window, twenty-three feet high, is, I hear, completed. It is something, certainly, that Jones lived to do so much. It will still be his monument!"

His anxiety for the resumption of the work was increased by the circumstance, that a very ample collegiate establishment was at this time

[1] Dated October 5, 1821.

advancing rapidly towards its completion under the auspices of the Baptist missionaries, residing at Serampore. For this institution, the first professor was actually arrived, with 500*l.* worth of philosophical apparatus, the donation of a person in Edinburgh; and it was announced that many other valuable presents had been received, and a great many subscriptions in India. It was, further, their intention to grant degrees in the several faculties, under a charter of the King of Denmark, to whom the town and factory of Serampore belong. At this college it was proposed, that there should be 300 or 400 pupils of all descriptions; out of whom were to be selected the most piously disposed, to become Baptist preachers. These pupils were to reside in the town, while the new building, which was to cost as much as Bishop's College, consisted entirely of houses for the professors, and two rooms for examinations, parade, &c. of 90 feet by 60. Such was the ardour and munificence displayed by these missionaries and their friends; and the Bishop was always naturally and commendably anxious that the Church should never be left behind by any other Christian society in India, but should rather take a decided lead in the career of religious enterprise. The interruption occasioned by Mr. Jones's death in the progress of the building at Bishop's College, was, after some delay, happily

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removed. Dr. Middleton had the good fortune to meet with Captain Hutchinson, an officer of the Bengal engineers, and a gentleman of great architectural taste and skill, who undertook to carry on the work; not, however, under the stipulations of a new contract, from which he was prevented by military rules, but wholly on the footing of an honourable engagement. And thus was happily resumed the great project by which the Bishop's whole heart seems to have been so much engaged, and which will, assuredly, preserve him an imperishable name throughout Asiatic Christendom.

The following letter to Mr. Ward, like all the Bishop's correspondence with that gentleman, will afford relief and refreshment, in the midst of graver matters, by its agreeable exhibition of calmness and repose :—

Calcutta, November 16, 1821.

My dear Friend,

I have to thank you for your two welcome letters of the 16th of March, and 18th of May, the latter received within this week. The former of them delighted me exceedingly, as it exhibits a picture of the tranquillity of your mind, and of gratitude for the measure of good with which Providence has blessed you. I hope, notwithstanding that you speak of the inroads of age upon yourself and Mrs. Ward, that you will yet

long live to derive increasing comfort from your family. Age is beginning to make its power visible on myself and Mrs. Middleton, not however in the form of disease, but,—in myself at least,—in some little diminution of activity, I suspect; and in both of us in our appearance, and perhaps in the decline of strength; though we feel as if English air would make us, for a time at least, just what we were ten years ago.

Literary society is, as you justly suppose, a desideratum here. The man of learning here is Mr. Mill, the principal of the new college: there is nobody at all to be compared with him; he is a very eminent member of the first learned Society in the world, Trinity College, Cambridge, and is a vast acquisition to me: he will be an honour to the new institution. You must not, however, suppose, as you hint in your letter, that I am at all sanguine on that subject; the utmost that I hope for, is to see the machine set going, and then I should commit it without any further care to Providence. I am no otherwise anxious than to make the most prudent use of the means committed to me, and thus discharge my trust. I have, however, been so unfortunate as to lose my builder. He died about six weeks ago, and has not left his equal, or any thing approaching to it; and it is a matter of embarrassment how I shall proceed. The next best man has made his arrangements to return to

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England. The masonry is about half finished, or rather more, and there is but one opinion of it, that such work had not been seen in Bengal.

I have just had with me two Swiss clergymen from the Great St. Bernard, in the highest Alps. What a change of climate for them! You know, of course, of the charitable institution there; it has suffered severely in the late war, and these gentlemen are come all the way to India to collect money for its restoration. They applied to me first, "comme chef de l'eglise," and professed to want my signature even more than my money. However, I have given them only what they least wanted. It would not be right that my name should be blazoned throughout India as a promoter of Popery; for there are some who would put that charitable construction upon it.

I am now preparing for a visitation and confirmation, with many other matters on my hands, and I shall not have a leisure hour for the next six weeks.

Ever your affectionate friend,

T. F. Calcutta.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Bishop holds his third Visitation at Calcutta, December 1821—Abstract of his charge—Extracts from his correspondence—Despatch from the Court of Directors respecting the Scotch Church—Calcutta School-book Society—Diocesan committee Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Madras committee—Free-school in Calcutta.

On the 17th of December, 1821, Bishop Middleton held his third visitation in the cathedral of Calcutta; and, on that occasion, delivered a charge to his clergy of considerable length, and more than usual interest and importance, embracing the question of missionary enterprise as connected, in India, with the duties and exertions of the clergy. It will, therefore, not be improper to present the reader with a brief outline of this most impressive composition, especially as it was the last which he was spared to address to his clergy in Calcutta, and which he did not live to repeat at the other archdeaconries.

In the commencement of this charge, he feelingly acknowledged the mercy of Providence in permitting him to meet his clergy for the third time. "It was," he said, "a subject of solemn and grateful thought, that they had been preserved

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amidst the ordinary havoc made by the climate, and even amidst the wide devastations of an epidemic disease." He then proceeded to call their attention to the peculiarities which, at the present period, marked the condition of the Christian ministry in India, never wholly unmixed with missionary interest.

A few years, he observed, had wrought a change in the sentiments of the surrounding heathen. The time was, when they hardly knew that we had any system of religious belief. They now find that we have a religion, which we not only believe to be true, but to be the *only* truth: and, strange as it may appear, the result of this discovery has been, that some among them have been found to start from their mental apathy,—to provoke, thus early, religious discussion,—and to impugn the fundamental doctrines of Christianity! "It is impossible," he observes, "to look with indifference upon this rising disposition to enquire. We ought, perhaps to be thankful for it, as a symptom that, at least, an interest is excited, and that the spirit of apathy, the most formidable impediment hitherto opposed to our religion, is beginning to pass away from this people. At all events, we should view it without dismay, for assuredly, our religion can have nothing to apprehend from the general result. Another favourable change is the willingness of the natives that their children should receive

instruction, which, if it be not Christian, can hardly be made subservient to the falsehoods of their theology. To these and other favourable circumstances, some eager and sanguine tempers, especially in England, might possibly be led to attach more importance than really belongs to them." In order to moderate the undue expectations which might be derived from this partial suppression of difficulties, and to recal his hearers to a more sober estimate of probabilities, the Bishop presented to them a masterly and luminous comparison of the impediments opposed to the progress of primitive and modern Christianity: and, in his judgment, the clear result of that comparison was, that the work of conversion at this day, and in our eastern empire, does not yield, in point of difficulty, to the task of the earlier Christian teachers. This representation, however, it could not be supposed, was offered for any purpose of discouragement. Little, in fact, had yet been attempted in any regular way; and hope and confidence might be derived from a contemplation of the hitherto untried resources of *uniformity and system* in our missionary operations. "When I last addressed you," he adds, "I endeavoured to shew that the diffusion of Christianity was not effected so much by independent efforts and unauthorised experiments, as by the gradual expansion of the Catholic Church. It may, therefore, be expected that

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nothing will so effectually contribute to the object in question, as a considerable church establishment among us, which shall make our religion conspicuous, and give weight and authority to the labours of those employed in the work of conversion. The clergy are not, indeed, to forsake their regular and very arduous duties for the missionary occupation; but they may always be ready to receive proselytes into their respective congregations, and thus give frequency to a spectacle, which even now is sometimes seen, of native converts joining our people in the services of our Church. Missionaries may, and ought, to be sent forth, acting under proper authority and subject to control, as in the primitive times; and schools, in connection with our missions, should be maintained, to prepare the soil for the reception of the good seed. But the whole missionary system should, as much as possible, derive authority and energy from its connection with the Established Church: and if her apparratus be marked by penury, or her proceedings by languor and indifference, what will the heathen conclude, but that their conversion and instruction is a matter of subordinate moment, in the estimation of our highest authorities both in Church and State?"

The Bishop then stated that, at their last meeting, he had expressed a hope that the increased interest upon the subject of religion in

England would be found propitious to the ecclesiastical establishment of British India. It was generally known to be the wish of the illustrious ruler of India, to honour our religion in the eyes of the natives, by the erection of a metropolitan church not unworthy of this splendid and daily improving capital; but circumstances had caused the indefinite postponement of this noble design. Of religious edifices, however, for common use, several had been raised, or were in progress, in this archdeaconry, and in that of Bombay. Yet he had still to lament the want of chaplains, which left considerable bodies of Christians, and those too of our own countrymen, without the sacraments, or the common offices of religion. In some respects this evil seemed to be in a course of aggravation. A large accession of territory had been acquired, naturally the occasion of new stations of Christian residents; but no provision whatever had yet been made, so far as appeared [1], for this vast increase of our religious necessities. Under these circumstances, what hope remained to the Church, but in the zeal of her members and her ministers, and in their unshaken fidelity to the sacred principles of her constitution? We hold that those only to whom the commission was given, may ad-

[1] An increase in the number of chaplains in India was soon after made by the Court of Directors.

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minister the sacraments, or authoritatively expound the word of God. In a country where indiscriminate support is given to every form of Christianity, it is our especial duty to maintain, with temperance and discretion, but with inflexible firmness, this distinction between a true and apostolic branch of the Church of Christ, and a mere voluntary association, which may appoint its own officers, and give or withdraw its submission to their rule. And if an appeal be made to charity against these principles, it should be remembered that charity deserves the name only so long as we hold it with the truth: and that when the truth becomes indifferent or doubtful to us, what is called charity is no better than the prodigality of those who give away to all that ask, what they themselves consider as of little value.

His lordship added, that these principles could not be more faithfully or more effectively supported than by a course of practice which should recommend them to all beholders. In India, he said, the sustained exertions of the clergy were, if possible, more urgently needed than even in the parent country. The energies of the Church were here embarrassed with impediments which required incessant and unwearied resistance; and they would ill appreciate the demands of their situation, if they could for a moment suppose it to be compatible with list-

lessness or indifference. He then exhibited a striking picture of the character of the Indian clergy in its perfection, and concluded thus :—

"Let me, then, beseech you to measure yourselves by some such standard, and if any fall far short of it, that they endeavour to reach it: I am confident, that it is not taken too high, if here you would really and essentially serve the cause of Christ. But you will not mistake me so far as to suppose, that I would cast you, even in thought, upon your own sufficiency: if the grace of God be ever needed, (and human weakness is the great lesson of human life,) it is surely by ourselves. Humanly speaking, every thing is against us; we are called upon to work a change in the habits, the hearts, and the very nature of men, in circumstances of peculiar difficulty, and to build up a Zion unto God in the waste places of the earth. But for these things who is sufficient, unless the Spirit of God be with him? Prayer, therefore, habitual prayer, is to you and to myself the only resource;—prayer that God will enlighten and strengthen us, and fill our hearts with the love of Christ, and zeal for his glory, and enable us to give an account of the souls committed to us, in the hope of mercy on our own."

The following passages from his correspondence will convey to the reader some conception of the anxiety with which he watched over

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the advancement of the college, as well as of his laborious and faithful discharge of the other ordinary episcopal duties, and of the devotion of his whole heart to the cause of divine truth. The letter from which the extracts are made, is addressed to Mr. Norris, and dated Calcutta, January 1, 1822.

"I cannot say that I actually begin the new year with writing to you, as I have this morning been preaching at the cathedral, and till now, for some time, I have not had the leisure of an hour or two to reply to your acceptable packet of the 2d of July (received the 17th of November), and to do what to me is always a relief and a comfort. I have had, since the first of last month, quite enough in the way of duty to occupy the whole of my thoughts. On the 2d, I preached my Advent sermon. On the 17th, I charged my clergy of this archdeaconry, at great length, at my third triennial visitation. On the 18th, I held a confirmation, and gave a long address to the persons confirmed. On the 19th, I went over to Dum-Dum (seven miles distant), and there held another confirmation, and repeated my address. *On the 20th, I gave full seven hours to the examination of the boys at the free-school.* On Christmas-day, I preached to 1055 persons, (for here it is the practice to count the congregation), and had a large sacrament. And to-day I have

been preaching again, though to a much smaller number. I believe there is some superstition here about Christmas-day; for persons shew themselves at church on that day who never come again till the return of the anniversary. I must not, however, say that I may now indulge in repose, *when my table is almost covered with letters on business,* which have stood over, and some of them upon matters of a very troublesome and embarrassing kind. And, if possible, I ought to go to Madras about six weeks hence; but till the college is set going again, I cannot stir." And then, after requesting his correspondent to execute some commissions for him, respecting the choice and transmission of books from England, he adds, " *I have indeed but little time for reading.* However, I am pretty much at home in the evening, and generally seize upon one hour and a half before I retire, unless I am much pressed with other claims. I dare say I am growing old! Indeed I feel it in a hundred ways; but in nothing more than in my taste. I have now no relish whatever for works of imagination. *I like nothing but truth—severe truth: and I really believe that if I had my time to myself, I should pass nearly the whole of it in endeavouring to understand the word and the works of God,*—the Bible, and Newton, with their dependencies. I begin to feel that what has no reference to either of these, is, in the

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way of reading, but idle pastime. I would, however, construe this reference liberally; and particularly in favour of the biography of men who have excelled in such studies. That has for me a charm which, I suppose, will remain till the last." Being thus led to mention, with commendation, the lives of Sancroft and Walton, which had recently appeared; he adds, "I am thankful to see these worthies of our illustrious church made prominent. I hope that these books will do good at home . . . . Some readers they will have, even here: and I rejoice to observe, that books of this description find their way hither, now and then, in the channel of trade. *There is, indeed, a vast alteration in this respect within the last seven years.* When I first knew this place, the auction catalogues, published almost daily, contained, indeed, a great quantity of books, but very seldom one which, if I had it not, I should wish to possess. But now, very frequently, I pick up books in the best and highest walks of literature."[3] Shortly afterwards he reverts to the subject of his episcopal duties, and laments that no degree of effort, in the Church at least, seems to be otherwise considered than as constrained and official. "I have never (he says), been absent from my church during seven years, except when confined to my room by illness, or absent on visitations: and I preach on an average every third

Sunday throughout the year. I do not mean (God forbid) that this is more than I ought to do—I ought to do still more if I could: but I fear it passes for nothing, and is treated as a matter of course; of which the obvious evil is, that *no influence is gained, to be employed in Christian purposes.* And yet, this seemed to be the only chance for a Bishop left without power, or patronage, or an adequate income."

In the same letter which has furnished these extracts, on adverting to affairs in England, the Bishop exclaims, "I rejoice to hear that Dr. Wordsworth has begun his career at Trinity so nobly, in the commencement of a third court!" The design here alluded to, we may readily imagine, must have been deeply interesting to one who was himself occupied, at that very time, in rearing a collegiate establishment in India. The Bishop must have felt that he, and the new Master of the royal and illustrious foundation in England, were each engaged at remote extremities of the globe, contributing to the advancement of the best interests of the human race. What then would have been his emotions had he been spared to return to his country, and to survey the results of this grand example: had he lived,—not merely to see the first college of the university which reared him, embellished by a splendid addition to its own fabric,—but to witness the impulse which that

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achievement had communicated to the whole academical community,—to view the seats of learning crowned with such expanding magnificence as may be said almost to render the present age the era of their second foundation. Such are effects which we sometimes see produced by virtuous strength of purpose, and unsparing self-devotion. We can scarcely imagine any satisfaction comparable to that of such public benefactors, when they are permitted (if we may be pardoned such an application of sacred words) to *see of the travail of their souls*, and to live surrounded by the monuments of their own public spirit. This happiness has actually been vouchsafed to him, whom the Bishop here so cordially felicitates. For the founder of Bishop's College, an *earthly* reward like this could scarcely be in store. It may require the voice of ages to bear a full and righteous testimony to the value and the blessedness of his labours!

In a history of the first introduction of Protestant episcopacy into India, it may not be irrelevant to remind the reader that, almost immediately on the Bishop's arrival, a question arose respecting the rights of the Scotch Church. This question was now set at rest by a dispatch which reached Calcutta, early in the present year, from the Court of Directors, pronouncing it to be a mistake to suppose the Kirk to be

established in the same sense in which the Episcopal Church of England is established; and declaring, accordingly, that they could by no means consent to place St. Andrew's on the same footing as the cathedral, with regard to the number of its clergy and servants, and various other particulars which had been solicited. It was further the opinion of the Court, that the Church of Scotland could not claim steeples to their places of worship as a matter of right; though, as a matter of indifference, the Court would agree to erect one for them at Bombay. It may here be remarked, as a circumstance somewhat curious, that, in certain respects, the Presbyterian religion appeared to change its type on transplantation to the East. In Europe its effect had uniformly been to reduce the worship of God to an austere simplicity, and to reject nearly all the aids and *appliances* of external splendour, as superfluous at least, if not sinfully vain and ostentatious. In India, on the contrary, it produced magnificent edifices, lofty steeples, and fine organs. St. Andrew's Church at Calcutta, for instance, is a much more stately fabric than St. John's Cathedral; and the Scotch church at Madras is, perhaps, the noblest Christian edifice in Hindostan. It was built after the model of a church in Italy, with two fine domes; and to these was added a spire, which, like that at Calcutta, towers very consi-

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derably above the steeple of every English place of worship. It seems to have been imagined that steeples were necessary as outward and visible indications, from which the public might conclude that the Presbyterian Church was legally *established* within the limits of an episcopal diocese; and that this object fully justified a deviation from the ancient and original simplicity. The experiment, however, in the time of Bishop Middleton, does not appear to have been eminently successful. The congregations of the Scotch Kirk had never been very numerous at any one of the presidencies; and at Calcutta, in 1822, St. Andrew's had, for some time, been shut up during the absence of Dr. Bryce. A congregation, consisting of some forty or fifty persons, were waiting for a chaplain from Scotland to reopen it. This chaplain, however, died before he reached Calcutta. Even among those who adhered to the Scotch communion, there were some who complained that the Presbyterianism of Calcutta was not that of their forefathers; and they signified their sense of its *degeneracy*, by declaring that they might just as well attend the service of the Church of England!

In the letter last alluded to, as in various others, are some remarks on the powerful tendency, in India, towards every thing Catholic and liberal,—the strength with which the cur-

rent set in against every thing connected with order and exclusion—and the embarrassments to which this disposition was constantly exposing the founder of Indian Protestant episcopacy. "It is to this principle, (of comprehension)," he remarks, "that the School-book Society owes its popularity. Its object is to print books of instruction in the native languages; in which, however, there must be no religion, because the Society consists of Christians, Mussulmans, and Hindoos. Of course, these would all agree on the elements of arithmetic, and, one would suppose, upon geography; but I recollect having heard of some discussion about a passage in a book proposed for publication, which either affirmed or denied—I forget which—*the Divinity* of the Ganges! I believe I gave offence in declining to become a member of this Society. I was not, indeed, invited till it was completely settled; but how could a bishop sit down with Mohammedans and Hindoos, on the *express condition* of reserve upon the subject of religion, in deference to what he knows to be a gross imposture? This Society receives from the government 500 rupees per month."

There may, perhaps, at first sight, be some slight appearance of inconsistency between the tone of the above passage, and the occasional expressions of satisfaction, with which the Bishop adverts to all projects for the general

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advancement of knowledge among the natives, even when unconnected with religion. His conviction was, as we have already seen, that where nothing more could be done, it would be a signally useful labour to clear the soil, and to prepare it for the eventual reception of the heavenly seed; and it may be remembered, that he declared himself to be fully persuaded that "we could teach the natives nothing which would not bring them nearer to Christianity." A moment's reflection, however, will shew that these truly wise and liberal views implied nothing like a pledge to sanction, by his own avowed and official concurrence, every imaginable project for the enlargement of the native understanding. It is perfectly intelligible, for instance, that a Christian bishop should watch, with deep and unfeigned satisfaction, the progress of any design or institution whose indirect tendency might be towards the final establishment of Divine truth; and yet that he might feel himself considerably embarrassed by an invitation to join in any plan, from which the subject of religion should be expressly and permanently excluded.

It was, however, a source of great satisfaction to the Bishop, that other designs to which he could give his unreserved sanction, were in a state of prosperity and promise. "It is now," (he says, in continuation of his letter,) "the 7th of January, (1822), and I have this morning

been presiding at a Promoting Christian Knowledge committee, to settle the last year's report: all very harmonious and comfortable. We are printing the parables, miracles, and discourses of our Saviour in three different native characters, 2000 copies of each, 18,000 in the whole! The cost will be 3000 rupees, to be taken out of the school-fund. I am also printing, at the Society's cost, a translation of Sellon's Abridgement in two native characters. I am glad to find the Madras district committee has at length published a report. It was much wanted; but they are very modest. They have done a great deal of which they are not ostentatious. Their press is going on *admirably; never perhaps so well, even in the golden days of the mission.* I lately wrote to the Vepery missionaries a letter of encouragement and thanks. I hope to be able to go to Madras this spring. There is a great deal to do there; and so, indeed, there is almost every where. *I am getting on in my arrangement respecting the completion of the college; but it cannot be completed at any thing like the original contract; however, hardly any evil is equal to that of a longer delay,* and, in truth, delay would not afford a better choice of instruments than I have at present. . . . . Dr. Wallich, the Company's botanist, has promised to assist me in laying out the college walks. I question whether, with all my descriptive powers, I have conveyed to you

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an adequate idea of the beauty and splendour of the scene. . . . . The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge have had several communications from me in the course of the past year; and I fear they will think I am no preacher of economy,—which in truth I am not. They cannot act in this country on a narrow scale; they have all the world for their rivals, and I am anxious to maintain their efficiency. . . . . (January 9, 1822.) I am just returned from a meeting of the free-schools, which is completely on the Madras system, and has two masters from Baldwin's Gardens. It is, perhaps, the largest establishment on the national system out of England. We entirely educate, maintain, and clothe 360 children of both sexes, and put them out as apprentices. It is a noble institution, and *in this country, one of the best bulwarks of Christianity*. It is something to be able to say, that *from the monthly meetings of the patron, (myself), and the governors, which I first suggested, I have not during six years, been absent once, except when upon my visitations*. . . . . I cut out from a Madras paper, and inclose, an account of the examination of the schools at Vepery. What a change in the state of that mission, since the days of Pæzold! I think it probable that if you had not had a district committee at Madras, your whole missionary establishment would by this time have been dissolved."

These satisfactory particulars, however, he immediately follows up by urgent application for a powerful reinforcement to the missionary strength of that station, and by fresh inculcation of his favourite position, that no operations on a dwarfish scale ever escape disregard, and even contempt, in India; a country where all the various denominations of Christianity appeared to be engaged in an emulous prosecution of their respective designs. His keen and vigilant perception of this state of things drew from him the strongest expressions of regret that, by some unaccountable inadvertence, the act of the legislature, which established episcopacy in India, made no provision whatever for a constant and regular supply of clergy, who were to be under episcopal jurisdiction; the consequences of which omission were seen in the deplorable fact, that the Calcutta part of the diocese had no more than thirteen chaplains, while its exigencies fully demanded the constant services of thirty. "At this moment," he says, "a large proportion of the Christian subjects of this government are virtually excommunicated, for they have not the use of the sacraments, or of the common offices of religion. I have long ago represented this want very strongly, and the government concurred with me. But since that time things have been growing worse. Surely the zeal must be strong, which such neglect would not

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discourage. It was, indeed, an oversight, which required the Company to maintain a bishop in their territories, without making it imperative upon them to keep up a body of clergy."

At the close of his letter the Bishop reverts to a subject which has been recently alluded to—the fluctuation of Indian society. "Never," he observes, "was there known such a migration as there will be this season. Almost every body in the higher class of our population here is going home, among others the chief-justice and his family. In another, *if I live to see it*, there will not, probably, at a dinner of forty persons, be more than two or three who were resident in Calcutta at my arrival. There is something melancholy in the thought, though here people care very little for each other. Like those who meet at a watering-place in England for a few weeks, an intercourse of civility is nearly all that can be expected. Nobody is here at home."

CHAPTER XXVI.

Deficiency of legal advice on matters of Ecclesiastical law—Difficulties in the consecration of churches—Letter from the Bishop to the Court of Directors—Doubts as to the necessity and legality of the Consistorial Court—Address of the Bishop on the formation of the court in Calcutta—Opinion of the Advocate-General at Madras—Counter opinion of the Advocate-General at Calcutta—Question as to the Bishop's power of ordaining natives of India—Letter to Mr. Thomas Courtenay.

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The letter, from which such copious citations have been made in the preceding chapter, dwells also upon a serious cause of heavy disquietude, which was felt by the Bishop from the first moment of his landing in India to the last hour of his life, namely, the want of sound professional advice, in questions of ecclesiastical law. Having observed that the climate perpetually, though silently, co-operates with time, upon a mind like his own, *naturally anxious*, and not permitted ever to be at ease, he adds, "Fresh difficulties seem, indeed, to be perpetually planting themselves in my path; and there is not a single person in this country, to whom I could communicate them with any hope of receiving an useful

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suggestion. A legal adviser would be invaluable, but no person here professes to know any thing of ecclesiastical law; and it has happened more than once, that, when appealed to by the respective governments, it has been thought safest by lawyers to give opinions against the Bishop. Who would suppose that I could have any difficulty about consecrating churches! You may remember that I received, through you, a letter on the subject from Mr. Jenner. What I wanted was the form of a deed of donation; but as I have nothing of the kind to produce, the government, by the advice of their advocate-general, (who considers the case in India, in ecclesiastical matters, to be very different from that of England,) hope that I will be content with a declaration, on the part of government, of the purposes for which such a church was built, and of their consent to the consecration. If I do *not* consent, the churches now ready for consecration must remain unconsecrated, pending a reference to England, to which an answer would not probably be received in *less than three years.* They could not, however, remain shut up to wait the issue! It is true we have here no endowments; no fund for repairs, but as afforded by the government; no parishes; no churchwardens; and no *personæ ecclesiæ:* government is, and does, *every thing. But then I am directed by his Majesty's letters-patent to conform with the ecclesiastical laws and*

usages of the Church of England! I cannot find that, in the churches consecrated by commission from the archbishop of Canterbury, before the establishment of the bishopric, any thing more was done than that the Company petitioned his Grace to consecrate without entering into any sort of engagement. Nothing more appears on the face of the documents in my possession. Upon this subject I wrote to his Grace in 1816; but, amidst the multitude of his avocations, I have not heard the result."

The difficulties experienced by the Bishop with reference to the consecration of churches will be further illustrated by a letter which he was called upon this year[1], to address to the government at Calcutta, in answer to certain enquiries made by the Honourable Court of Directors, relative to his proceedings, previous to the consecration of the church of St. Thomas, at Bombay. The directions of the Court were, that the government would "ascertain from the Bishop, his reasons for having required the transfer of St. Thomas's church, at Bombay, from the Company to the British inhabitants, as a preliminary to its consecration; whilst at Madras several churches appear to have been consecrated by his lordship, without any renun-

[1] May 1, 1822.

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ciation of right to them on the part of the Company having been required."

In replying to this enquiry, the Bishop premised, that he was bound in conscience to make a distinct reservation upon a point which that enquiry seemed to involve. As a bishop of the Church of England, and a suffragan of the *metropolitical* see of Canterbury, to which the Bishop of Calcutta is made subject by his Majesty's letters-patent, he was liable to answer for all strictly official acts before a recognised ecclesiastical authority, and he had no reason to believe that his brethren were ever called upon to account for such acts before any other. He was bound, therefore, to request, that whatever he might have to offer upon the subject, which had interested the Honourable Court, might be received under this reservation of right, and as expected from him only in courtesy. He then proceeded to state that, in the case in question, the deed of donation (an instrument adverted to in the form of consecration), directs, that the trustees shall be the two chaplains of the church, (who are appointed by the Honourable Court, nominated to their particular duties by the Governor-in-council, and licensed by the Bishop), and four other gentlemen; and that, as vacancies happen, (except in the case of the chaplains), the remaining trustees shall elect

others, who, however, shall not act, until they have been approved by the Governor-in-council and the Bishop. It is true that the *first* lay trustees were declared, in the deed, to be named and to act, in behalf of the Protestant community and inhabitants of Bombay, professing the religion of the Established Church. In *that* deed, however, the government declares "that the church of Bombay was built by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants of Bombay and others, *including a donation from the government*;" and nothing more was reserved to the inhabitants than the privilege of attending Divine service, the exercise of which the Honourable Court must be presumed to approve. Upon the whole it might, perhaps, be more just to say, that by the deed of donation the church was transferred from the inhabitants to the Company, although in strictness it could not, after consecration, belong to either.

With regard to Madras, he conceived that all the English churches within that archdeaconry were built at the expense of the Company; that if the trustees did not *expressly* hold such churches for the use of the British inhabitants professing the religion of the Established Church, they must *virtually* hold them for that purpose, or it would not appear why they hold them at all; that, with respect to the Company, the renunciation of right became equally complete

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by their sanction of any such trust whatever, or by their assent, however given, to the consecration; and that it was not reasonable that the final decree of the Bishop, pronounced in the sentence of consecration, should be exposed to any hazard in India, from which it is secured in England.

With respect to the instances of consecration adverted to by the Honourable Court, either there was, in those instances, no renunciation of right, actual or virtual; (in which case such consecrations would be mere nullities;) or the security against desecration, to which the Bishop is bound to attend, would be attainable under less formal sanctions in India than in England. It was certain, however, that, either there was no remaining right to the Company in the churches which they might build, or no valid consecration; the latter could not consist with the former.

In conclusion, the Bishop desired to state that it would afford him the highest satisfaction, if he could convince the Honourable Court, that in the discharge of his episcopal functions, he had no wish beyond that of adhering, as he was bound, to the laws and usages of the Church. It was his anxious desire and endeavour, that all ecclesiastical proceedings in his diocese should not only be uniform under the different local governments, but, every where, be in strict

unison with the practice which prevailed, and was never questioned, in England; a point, however, which, from obvious causes, he had not found it easy to accomplish.

We have, in instances like these, a striking proof of the confusion produced by sending out a functionary to sustain an arduous responsibility, with powers so imperfectly defined, as to convert matters of perpetual and ordinary recurrence into snares and pitfalls for his feet, and to render his life a scene of difficulty, exactly proportioned to his conscientious solicitude to fulfil the ministry committed to him. But these embarrassments were trifling, when compared with another source of perplexity, which spread itself over the greater portion of his residence in India, and which, at last, threatened no less than a virtual suspension of his authority. The grievance now adverted to, is mentioned by the Bishop in very forcible terms in his private correspondence; and the reader will perceive, when once he has heard a statement of the case, that no language could well be too forcible for the occasion. By the letters-patent, the Bishop is empowered to exercise spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in his diocese; to visit with ecclesiastical coercion all ministers and chaplains, of churches and chapels within that diocese; to call them before him or his commissary, at such times and *places* as shall

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seem to him convenient; and to enquire, by witnesses, to be sworn in due form of law, and by all other effectual means, respecting their morals and behaviour. They further empowered him, by himself and by his commissaries, to administer oaths, according to the ecclesiastical laws of England, and to punish or correct the clergy, according to their demerits, whether by deprivation, suspension, or other ecclesiastical censure or correction, *according to the ecclesiastical laws aforesaid.* They declare that the archdeacons shall, by virtue of their office, be commissaries of the Bishop, each within his archdeaconry; and that, in all grave matters of correction, which, by the ecclesiastical law of England, are accustomed to be judicially examined, they shall, in like manner, be judicially examined before the Bishop or his commissary, and proceeded in to final sentence, in due form of law.

The letters-patent further ordain, that, if any person, against whom a judgment or decree shall be pronounced, by the Bishop or his commissary, shall conceive himself aggrieved thereby, he may appeal to his Majesty's commissioners delegate, to consist of the judges of the supreme court at Calcutta, and the members of council at that presidency. And in case any chaplain shall be deprived, or suspended, or inhibited, or otherwise subjected to any ecclesiastical punishment or censure by

the Bishop, a copy of the sentence, setting forth the causes of the punishment, shall, without delay, be transmitted to the Governor-in-council of the presidency to which such chaplain may belong.

Now the first and obvious question arising out of this language, was, by what *mode* of proceeding this power and jurisdiction were to be exercised? And, in order to ascertain this in the most regular manner, the case was laid before the advocate-general, Mr. R. Spankie, who pronounced, in the most decided manner, that the only way in which the Bishop could proceed against any one of his clergy, conformably to the tenor of his letters-patent, was in his own consistorial court. Such a court was accordingly established by the Bishop at Calcutta, on the 15th of October, 1819. It was convened pursuant to a public and previous notification under the episcopal seal, dated the 8th of the preceding September. Certain regular court days were appointed, viz. January 2, April 15, June 10, and October 15. As there was no sufficient accommodation for holding the court within the walls of the cathedral, the house contiguous to it was used for that purpose, being at that time the public office of the registrar of the archdeaconry. The only two sworn and appointed officers under the episcopal seal, were the commissary and the registrar. The Bishop, however, gave his permission to four gentlemen

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to appear and act as proctors for any parties before the court, on taking the usual oath. The Company's standing counsel at Calcutta, was directed by government to act, at its commencement, as assessor, or legal adviser to the Bishop.

On the first opening of this court, the Bishop pronounced an address, explanatory of the nature and objects of such a tribunal in the diocese of India. The bishops of the Church of England, he said, held their jurisdiction upon principles recognised by a Protestant legislature. At his consecration every bishop is required to promise *that he will correct and punish such as be unquiet, disobedient, and criminous, according to such authority as he hath by God's word, and as to him shall be committed by the ordinance of the realm.* The spiritual authority has, *in itself,* nothing coercive. It has no temporal or legal effect. It cannot proceed in form of law, but with the consent and sanction of the government. And in this sense, ecclesiastical courts are the King's courts, although not so designated. His lordship then proceeded to explain, that the court then established derived its authority from the royal letters-patent, which authorised the Bishop of Calcutta to exercise jurisdiction, according to the ecclesiastical laws of the realm of England. But, he added, the causes here proceeded in will be causes of correction; since the extensive powers of the supreme judicature would relieve it alto-

gether from the pressure of other duties. The more prominent occasions for the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction would probably be:—1st. Compelling regularity in the keeping of registers. 2nd. The enforcement among the clergy of a strict conformity with the liturgy and rubric of the Church. 3rd. The correction of personal improprieties, which might be incurred by the clergy, whether of a lighter, or a more aggravated description: the latter of which he was unwilling to anticipate. In all such cases the mode of proceeding would be either by *inquisition*, where the Bishop proceeds by mere virtue of his office, when public and prevailing rumour brings disorderly practices to his notice; or by *summation*, as when a complainant comes forward, not as a witness, but as a prosecutor, or promovent of the office of the spiritual judge. A third mode of proceeding, known in England, namely, that by *presentment*, could have no application in a diocese, where churchwardens or parochial officers are unknown.

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"Commencing then," said the Bishop, "under such auspices, and acting under such views, this court presumes to implore on its endeavours the blessing of Almighty God, and trusts that, as its proceedings are directed solely to His honour, and the good of His church, it will be found, in due time, to have been eminently subsidiary to true religion and virtue."

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A consistorial court having been thus established in Calcutta, it, of course, became necessary to institute similar courts in the other presidencies. When, however, measures were taken for erecting such a tribunal at Madras, the government immediately consulted their advocate-general, Sir Samuel Toller, on the legality of it; and, to the inexpressible surprise and embarrassment of the Bishop, that gentleman, on a perusal of the letters-patent, declared it to be his clear opinion that the Bishop, so far from being compelled to establish a consistorial court, was left without the power to establish any such court by the instrument from which his authority was derived!

It would be needless to trouble the reader with a recital of the documents, or a full detail of the reasonings, on which this decision was founded. It may be sufficient to state that Sir Samuel Toller, having determined in what way the episcopal authority was *not* to be exercised, proceeded to point out the manner in which he conceived it might be legally and effectually brought into action. His opinion on this point was,—that the Bishop was invested by the letters-patent, not so much with the character of a judge, as with that of a sort of paternal and spiritual *arbitrator;* and that, like any other arbitrator, he might publish his *award* or sentence, which thenceforth would become binding

on the parties concerned. And he saw no reason why the Bishop or his commissary might not proceed as effectually in this domestic forum or chamber, as in a tribunal encumbered with the expensive and tardy mechanism of an ecclesiastical judicature.

This opinion was, of course, immediately submitted to the advocate-general of Calcutta, who, nevertheless, maintained his original persuasion with triumphant confidence; but recommended that, in this diversity of views, the question should be dispatched to England for final determination. The effect of this conflict of legal authorities was, beyond measure, vexatious and distressing to the Bishop. If it did not actually place his jurisdiction in abeyance, it at least tended to deprive him of all confidence in the exercise of it; and was likely to impair, in a most injurious degree, the public respect for the episcopal power and function. The alternative to which the Bishop felt himself reduced, was stated by him to be neither more nor less than this:—He must either await the decision of the competent authorities in England as to the legal mode of censuring his clergy, which would amount to a suspension of his authority over them for a considerable period; or, if he determined to abide by the opinion of the advocate-general at Calcutta, he must be embroiled with the govern-

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ment of Madras, and of course be rendered odious to their masters at home.

In the mean time a case occurred which further manifested the tendency, on the part of the civil powers at Madras, to the exercise of an authority concurrent with that of the Bishop, and virtually adverse to it. A complaint had been made against a chaplain for descending from his pulpit, and turning an officer out of the room in which Divine service was celebrated (there being no church at the station) for some impropriety of demeanour. The Madras government took the affair into their own hands, as if it had not been one of ecclesiastical cognizance; and—though the chaplain held the Bishop's license to a particular station,—by their own authority, sent him off to another. An occasional instance of such despotic and summary proceeding might, perhaps, be reasonably expected in a state of society more accustomed to military than to ecclesiastical principles of government, even in spiritual matters. It was, however, a manifest invasion of the episcopal jurisdiction, and, as such, was deeply and painfully felt by the Bishop, who conceived himself responsible for the integrity of the office committed to him, and was anxious, at least, to preserve it from contempt. We, therefore, may warmly enter into his feelings, when he describes the effect of

such irregularities upon his spirits: "I think," he says to his correspondent, "you will agree with me, that accidents of this kind may have some effect in a climate where all irritation and distress of mind are known to be very prejudicial to life and health. And then," he adds, "there is but little in the way of counteraction or alleviation. Of society I find very little indeed; and of kindred feeling, less. We have here no means of changing the scene as you have in England, or of visiting friends; and one day differs from another in little besides the degree of heat!"

That the public may be in distinct possession of all the anomalies of Bishop Middleton's situation, part of a letter, dated January 14, 1822, to the Rev. H. H. Norris, is here inserted relative to a very solemn department of his duties, with respect to which he was left in a state of almost unprecedented disadvantage.

. . . . . "You may remember that a difficulty was started long ago, about my power of ordaining persons born in this country. It turned upon the question, whether they are the '*King's loving subjects*,' in the sense of the letters-patent? I am expecting to hear something upon the subject. Mr. Courtenay kindly promised to get something done for me in the removal of the difficulty; and I wrote to him in November, 1820, stating what I wanted; and,

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at the same time, to the Bishop of London, enclosing a copy of the provisions required. Without something of the kind proposed, it had been better never to have sent a bishop to India. They, who would enter into the service of the Church, cannot,—though they may enter into the service of the sectaries. This is just as it was; but in other respects the case is far worse. The Church is now made to appear to *reject* the well-disposed: for a bishop, who *cannot* ordain at his discretion, is something new and quite inexplicable. In Ceylon the case is worst of all: for there, still, according to the old system, preachers are appointed by the government, who, though unordained, administer the sacraments. I do not speak of the government as *preferring* this mode of providing for the native Christianity of this island—quite otherwise. They have hitherto had no alternative; but this ought not to be the case in the present state of things: nor would it, for a moment, if the difficulties thrown on my powers were removed. The government there would, I have no doubt, upon my ordaining persons to fill such cures, refuse to support any other. The poor men, too, wished most earnestly to be ordained. I did ordain one of them deacon; but he was an Englishman[1]. The question turns upon the

[1] Mr. Armour.

others being *born in India:* though in Ceylon, a King's colony, I should suppose that the inhabitants, of whatever description, are the *King's loving subjects!* The powers, however, given me in the Ceylon patent are limited to those given me in the patent for India. The intent therefore of the latter must be explained and settled; and, till that is done, my condition is very distressing. My task under any circumstances cannot be a very easy one; but, *as it is, I am labouring in chains, and wasting my strength and life for comparatively nothing* . . . . . .

"The supreme court, which has three judges, dividing among them 24,000*l.* per annum, is now left with only one. The second puisne judge is gone to Bombay[1] to supply, temporarily, the place of the recorder, who died very lately, being the second who has died there within three years. Such is life in India. And yet my friends, forgetting that I am not in Devonshire, sometimes gravely hope that I shall have my health eight years longer!"

The precise nature of the difficulties felt by the Bishop relative to the ordination of persons born in India is most fully and perspicuously stated by him in the letter to Mr. T. P. Courtenay, to which he alludes above, and which is here inserted for the information of the reader.

[1] Sir E. East, the justice, had recently sailed for England.

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Calcutta, November 16, 1820.

My dear Sir,

Some doubts having arisen upon points connected with the exercise, by the Bishop of Calcutta, of his episcopal function of ordination, and inasmuch as you have kindly intimated your readiness to consult the proper authorities, and to suggest such legislative relief as the case may require,—I beg leave to submit to you a brief statement of the difficulties in which I find myself involved, as they arise out of the local circumstances of this diocese.

It is to be premised, that the circumstances in which the diocese of Calcutta appears to differ from the dioceses of Quebec and Nova Scotia are, as they affect the present question, the following:—

1. That Christian congregations have been formed in various parts of the diocese of Calcutta, and others may be expected to be formed, who evince a preference for the established Church, but who require ministers capable of officiating in some one of the native languages, being ignorant of any other than their vernacular tongue.

2. That in the circumstances of India a sufficient supply of ministers, natives of Great Britain, and at the same time well acquainted with the language of India, cannot be expected: and

that persons well qualified to officiate as aforesaid, and in some respects better adapted to the office of instructing native Christians, are found among the natives of this country.

3. That persons of the latter class, being half-castes, or wholly of native parentage, offering themselves for ordination in the Church of England, are supposed not properly to fall within certain provisions, which yet have been made indispensable to the solemnization of that rite.

Out of these peculiarities the following difficulties respectively arise :—

1. The second clause of the 36th canon, which every candidate for ordination in the Church of England is bound to subscribe, is a declaration on the part of the candidate, that in his ministrations he will "use the form prescribed in the book of Common Prayer, and none other." A circumstance already stated, makes it obvious, that this injunction, in respect of such congregations, can be consistently interpreted only of the liturgy faithfully translated into the tongue, in which the minister shall be appointed to officiate. Any other interpretation would be repugnant to common reason, as well as to the 24th Article of our Church. But in abandoning the book of Common Prayer in the form in which alone it is known to the canon, care must be taken, that the change of language shall be the only change to which it shall be subjected. To this end, there-

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fore, it is to be desired, that the Bishop, unless better means can be devised, shall be empowered to give the stamp of authority to such Asiatic versions of the liturgy of the Church of England, and also of the Holy Scriptures, as he shall, with the advice and assistance of men learned in the languages in question, judge to be faithful and exact: and that to these versions, so examined and approved, the same credit and authority shall be attached, with respect to the diocese of Calcutta, as belong to the book of Common Prayer and the authorised version of the Bible in England. Without some such provision, it seems not possible to establish the uniformity, which not only our Church requires, but which is essential to order and decency in every religious society. Without it, every minister would be at liberty to translate for himself and to translate as he pleased; and not being bound by the letter of the canon, might contravene its spirit. And it is to be remembered, that this difficulty applies equally to the case of all, who are to be ordained to officiate to natives unacquainted with our language, whether such candidates be natives of Great Britain or of India.

2. Supposing the candidate for holy orders to be ignorant of the English language, recourse must be had, in ordaining such candidate, to a version of the ordination service approved and ratified, as before proposed. But inasmuch as

the bishop may not find it possible, consistently with his multifarious duties, to devote himself to the study of so many languages as are used in his diocese, it will be necessary to the effectual solemnization of the rite, that he shall be empowered to use the intervention and aid of an interpreter sworn to the faithful discharge of his office.

3. It is doubted, whether that portion of the candidates for holy orders, who may be half-castes or wholly of native parentage, can be required to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy previously to ordination, as the Act of Parliament directs; it has even been questioned by learned civilians, whether ministers and congregations of this description are within the meaning of "his Majesty's loving subjects" mentioned in the preamble to his Majesty's patent founding the bishopric of Calcutta; although it is obvious, that, if this doubt can be substantiated, and nothing be done to remove it, the doctrines and the discipline of the Church of England are the only system of faith and Church government from which Christian converts will be excluded; all other systems being propagated without impediment. A legislative provision is, therefore, to be desired, which may be adapted to the exigency, and more especially be declaratory of what shall be required as to oaths and subscriptions. In the mean time it is *presumed*, that candidates born in

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Great Britain or Ireland, and who are therefore naturally subjects of our Lord the King, will be required to take the oaths, as in England; so likewise *probably* will all candidates, who are natives of his Majesty's island of Ceylon. But on these points I particularly request, through your intervention, the direction of his Majesty's government, or of the law officers of the crown.

A still further difficulty some time ago presented itself in respect of the defect of title in this country, as required by the 33rd canon: but since the passing of the Act of the 59th Geo. III. empowering the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the bishop of London, to ordain specially for the colonies, and to admit as a title, a declaration of the purpose of the candidate, and a written engagement to perform specific duties, it is *supposed* that the bishop of Calcutta needs not require as a title any thing more closely in conformity with the canon.

It is not so strictly within my province to advert to any political consequences which may accrue from the difficulties herein detailed: but it is hardly to be supposed, that the legislature, while it grants leave to missionaries of every denomination to come out to India, who are constantly ordaining ministers according to their forms and principles, would wish to cramp the efforts of the Established Church: and it is easy to foresee the political results, if they who

desire to preach the Gospel in connection with the Church, and to train their congregations in principles of attachment to our constitution in Church and State, shall be the only persons, as at present, who cannot be invested with that authority to preach, which in their consciences they believe to be indispensable [1].

In the hope that this letter may reach you in sufficient time to allow you to consider the subject of it before the session of Parliament shall be too far advanced,

I have the honour to be,
My dear Sir,
With great respect,
Your obliged and faithful servant,
T. F. Calcutta.

[1] The difficulties here stated by bishop Middleton were remedied, after his death, by the act of 4 Geo. IV. c. 71. § 6., which authorises the bishop of Calcutta to ordain any person whom he shall deem duly qualified for the cure of souls, or for any spiritual office, within the limits of his diocese; and enacts, that a declaration of such purpose, and a written engagement to perform it, shall be a sufficient title; such ordination to be for the cure of souls within the diocese only. The act further exempts all persons so ordained, from the obligation to make the oaths and subscriptions required of persons ordained in England, unless they shall be British subjects.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The precedence of the bishop of Calcutta with reference to the chief justices in India—Letter of bishop Middleton to the commissioners of the India Board—Letters to principal Mill—Conjecture as to the origin of the black Jews at Cochin—Letters to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Character of Christian David—Proceedings of the Calcutta diocesan committee—Donation to the college from the Church Missionary Society—Further extracts from the Bishop's private correspondence.

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THE departure of Sir E. East, the chief-justice of Bengal, about this time, furnished the Bishop with an opportunity of renewing his representations on another subject of some importance in India, to which he occasionally adverts in his correspondence; namely, the rank assigned him by the warrant of precedency, in which the Bishop was placed below the *chief-justice*, both at Bengal and Madras, and now, also, at Bombay, subsequently to the establishment of that office there. In this arrangement Bishop Middleton acquiesced, during the residence of Sir E. East; but when that judge had completed his term of service, and returned to England, he conceived it to

be incumbent upon him to submit the case to his Majesty's government, with a view to a reconsideration of the matter, and the adoption of a practice conformable to that usage in England, where the bishops have unquestionable precedency over the chief-justice of the King's Bench. It may possibly be thought by some, that this adjustment of his temporal dignity was a matter scarcely fit to occupy the serious thoughts of a Christian bishop, or at all events not worthy of urgent representations to the supreme authorities at home. The statement which was transmitted by Bishop Middleton to Mr. Bragge Bathurst, as president of the India Board, will furnish, it is apprehended, a complete and satisfactory reply to any such suggestions. It will shew that he regarded his official rank in connection with his duties and responsibilities; and that he considered it, not as an ostentatious appendage to his sacred function, but as an instrument of public influence and usefulness, in the peculiar state of Indian society.

TO THE RIGHT HON. C. B. BATHURST, M.P.
PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR THE AFFAIRS OF INDIA.

Calcutta, March 5, 1822.

Right honourable Sir,

I beg leave respectfully to solicit your attention to a subject involving the dignity, and consequently the efficiency, of the appointment

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which, by the favour of his Majesty, I have the honour to hold in this part of the British empire. I advert to the rank which has been assigned to the bishop of Calcutta.

It may be proper to state, that about the period of my being nominated to the newly founded bishopric, it was judged expedient, in consequence of some reference on the subject of rank sent home from Madras, to make out a warrant of precedency for India. In the negotiation respecting my acceptance of the appointment, some doubt arose whether the bishop of Calcutta should have the customary style of a bishop, the chief-justice of Bengal not being *lord* chief-justice. And this doubt, it was supposed, might (although I did not understand on what grounds), affect the question of the bishop's rank. When, however, his style was determined, the late Earl of Buckinghamshire, then president of the Board of Control, readily acquiesced in the fitness of giving to the bishop the established rank; and I was assured by his lordship, that it would be recognised in the warrant of precedency then in preparation. Within a week, however, of my embarkation, a friend of mine, who had seen the draft of the warrant, informed me that the bishop was then placed below the chief-justice. I immediately solicited an interview with the Earl of Buckinghamshire, who acknowledged that such was the

fact: for that on enquiry it appeared that the charter of the Supreme Court of Judicature gave to the chief-justice of Bengal rank next below the Governor-general; a provision with which it was not in the power of the crown to interfere. In this declaration I acquiesced, not being able in the hurry of my immediate departure to enquire into the matter, even if I had doubted the fulness and accuracy of his lordship's information. On my reaching Bengal, however, the rank assigned me in the warrant of precedency, which came out in the same ship with myself, excited surprise; it was observed, that the bishop was put below the chief-justices *both of Bengal and Madras*, and I was referred to the law-charter or letters-patent of the 26th of March, 1774, from which the following is an extract, so far as relates to the rank of the chief-justice of Bengal, "And we do hereby give and grant to our said chief-justice, rank and precedence above and before all our subjects whomsoever, within the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, excepting the Governor-general for the time being, and *except all such persons as by law and usage take place in England before our chief-justice of the Court of King's Bench.*"

The construction of these words, Sir, seems not to be liable to any ambiguity: if, at the period of granting that rank to the chief-justice, it had been in his Majesty's contemplation to send out

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a bishop to India, the reservation of his rank to such future functionary could not, I respectfully submit, have been more cautiously secured; as it was well known that bishops are in the number of "such persons as by law and usage takes place in England before his Majesty's chief-justice of the Court of King's Bench." The warrant of precedency, therefore, founded on a recital that doubts had arisen with regard to rank "and precedence in India," and professing to "fix the same and prevent all disputes," was actually made to bear upon a case, in which no doubt could at that time have arisen, and no dispute was to be apprehended. The chief-justice, adverting to a rule in England, and to the reservation of it in the law-charter of Bengal, would have had nothing to urge against the bishop's precedency; and I have good reason to believe that, if the warrant had not appeared, the Marquess of Hastings would immediately have recognised the bishop according to the customary rank. His Excellency's opinion of the case, generally, is conveyed in a letter to me of yesterday's date, of which I have the honour, Sir, to enclose a copy. His lordship had, indeed, long since informed me that he had written on the subject to the late president of the Board of Control, upon an understanding that I had no wish to press my claim against Sir Edward East, who

was in possession of his appointment before the bishopric was founded.

I am not aware, Sir, that much can be added, or is required, to strengthen a claim supported by the English analogy applicable to such cases, and by a recognition of that analogy in the law-charter of Bengal, and, moreover, admitted by the Governor-general not to be opposed by any considerations of a local nature. His lordship, indeed, is pleased to advert to the expediency of confirming to the bishop of Calcutta the usual rank. But I trust, Sir, that I shall not be thought to impair my claim by respectfully stating especial circumstances, which appear to enter into the question. The bishopric of Calcutta then, when viewed in reference to the functions of the bishop, and to the extent of his jurisdiction, and to the general scale of the public establishments in this country, is in a state of depression. The bishop's jurisdiction is not confined to a particular district, but is co-extensive with the British dominions in the East, including his Majesty's colony of Ceylon; and his duties are, perhaps, as arduous, owing to the vast extent of his diocese, and to the anomalies with which he has to contend, as those of any bishop in the world; while his income, in reference to the value of money in this country, and to the demands to which he is obviously liable in such a diocese, is admitted to be inade-

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quate; while he wants the accustomed honorary distinction of an official residence; and while he is without power or prescriptive influence, and even such a measure of patronage as to make his good opinion of any value to the clergy over whom he presides.

It is, Sir, in this state of things, that I presume to solicit that the customary rank of a bishop may, from the resignation of the chief-justiceship by Sir Edward East, who has now embarked for England, be assigned to the bishop of Calcutta. Nor will I disclaim all personal feeling in preferring this request. I acknowledge that, after having already served the full term required of a chief-justice, it would be painful to me to be again put down from the place assigned to others of my order, and which I appear to have lost, merely by the imperfect information given to the late Earl of Buckinghamshire respecting a clause in the law-charter. Still, Sir, my personal feeling is not the sole motive to this application; no where, more than in India, is rank important to public efficiency, and the station which I have the honour to fill, does, in the circumstances of this country, especially need to be upholden. The head of the legal department in Bengal, with the advantage of an ample salary, and a valuable patronage, and a prevailing disposition among all classes of persons here to look up to those

who administer the law, does not, I would respectfully suggest, require, for the utmost measure of his efficiency, a higher rank than that which is assigned in England to the lord chief-justice of the King's Bench, and to which the charter expressly limits him; while, on the other hand, the state of religion in this country can ill endure that there should attach to its chief functionary, the idea of any thing resembling degradation. I may be permitted to add, that the warrant of precedency, although generally known and tacitly acquiesced in, has not, to the best of my knowledge and belief, ever been promulgated by this government.

I have to request, Sir, that you will pardon the minuteness of these details, without which you could not be enabled to take a full view of the case: being persuaded, that if my pretensions shall be found to be valid, they will not fail to obtain your decided support.

I have the honour to be,
Right Honourable Sir,
With the highest respect,
Your most obedient and humble servant,
T. F. Calcutta.

Every thing regarding the college having been hitherto transacted between the Bishop of Calcutta and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the concern of the principal and pro-

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fessors in its administration having been, by the nature of this arrangement, suspended till the return of the approved statutes from England,—the college buildings also being still in an imperfect state,—the Rev. Principal Mill, with the Bishop's entire concurrence, availed himself of the opportunity to traverse some of the most interesting parts of the peninsula, while the infancy of the establishment admitted of his absence; justly conceiving that a more intimate acquaintance with local manners and customs, and especially the personal inspection of the several tribes of native Christians, would serve many useful purposes in the further progress of his duties.

Two letters of the Bishop addressed to Mr. Mill while on his tour, (the earlier of them somewhat previously to the date of the above paper to Mr. Bathurst,) will prove that the weight of official care was not able to suppress his anxiety on subjects connected with sacred literature and antiquity.

TO THE REV. W. H. MILL.

Calcutta, February 21, 1822.

My dear Sir,

I was much gratified by your letter from Tellichery, received about a week ago. I had previously heard of your progress as far as Cochin in a letter from Mr. Vismede, who informed me, that you had set off to visit the

Syrians. Mrs. Middleton thanks you for conveying her parcel.

I am glad to find that you have been upon the whole so much satisfied with your expedition. The problem respecting the black Jews, is, indeed, very difficult; but, at the same time, one of the most curious in the history of religion. I cannot believe that their ancestors were native converts; and I have always inclined to the notion that they came originally from Africa. I once thought they might be of the Falasha tribe or colony, mentioned by Bruce, as settled in Abyssinia, and who profess themselves the descendants of those who were converted in consequence of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon. But you speak of the ruins of a college, called *Misroipalle:* what is this word, Malabar or Hebrew? Such miserable work is made with etymology, that it is not very creditable to have any thing to do with it: but I confess that the *name,* which was quite new to me, struck me as having a very Hebrew aspect. I could not but think (having long had an African origin of these people in my mind) of the similarity of the former part of the name to מצרים; and a little consideration put me upon פלישׁ, which is not farther from *palli,* than might be expected in the inaccuracy with which the name may have been given you, and which commonly prevails, where the origin of

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words is lost. In that case, I suppose the college, or rather the colony who founded it for the education of their children, to have been called מצרי פליט, or something very like it: but I should lay no stress upon mere resemblance of sound, if there were nothing like history to countenance an hypothesis of certain Jews having, in a moment of great calamity, *fled* from *Egypt*. Pray turn, therefore, to the *Hebrew* of Jer. xliv. 13, 14, which relates to the invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, and the destruction or dispersion of the Jews, who should be found there. It would be nothing very improbable in the then state of Egyptian navigation (in the reign of the successor of Pharaoh Necho,) if a party of the Jews, who escaped, found the means of crossing from Egypt to India. The passage from the straits of Babelmandel to the Malabar coast, at the proper season, is now commonly made in ten days; and we know that it accorded with the Jewish practice to call places in allusion to events and circumstances with which they were connected; as Beersheba, Lahoi-roi, &c. It is probable that *pālet* has been used as a termination to mark a place of *refuge* in Beth-Palet, mentioned Joshua xv. 27. Upon such an hypothesis, the ancestors of the Black Jews fled from Egypt more than five centuries and a half before the Christian era. Without, however, being attached to this or any other theory, I do think that the

name of a Jewish college or settlement (for the settlement may have given name to the college) is well worth examining; provided it be not decidedly and intelligibly Malabar, of which I cannot judge. *Palli* or *Pali* has certainly a Malabar sound; but that very circumstance, if the rest of the name cannot be reduced to the vernacular idiom, may help to explain the loss of the final *teth*.

It was quite clear to me, when I visited Travancore, that the Syrians were no longer Nestorians, and that Nestorianism had once prevailed among them; but what I have been most perplexed about is, the exact period and cause of the transition. You seem, I think, to have found in the MSS. of the New Testament, 1 Cor. v. 8, at the end of the verse ܕܢܡܪܝܐ, instead of ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. I requested the late Metran to lend me his New Testament to look at a passage, the one above quoted, which I found to be wrong: he asked me what verse I was looking at, and on being told, repeated the whole, as it stands in the Peshito; and when I remarked the difference, he asked what could possibly have put me upon the discovery? He accounted for it, however, by saying that it must be a mistake of the transcriber, or else that the Romanists had taken care to have the alteration made! He could not suppose that any of his own Church had committed so wicked

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a fraud, and added with great emphasis, *patīra, patīra.*

I know of nothing very important to communicate to you in the way of literary intelligence, not having, as I believe, received any thing new from England since you went away; though I am not quite sure whether this be correct. *About* that time a work of considerable curiosity and interest was transmitted to me from London, having been procured by a friend visiting Venice, the long lost chronological work of Eusebius, of which the Chronicon, published by Scaliger, is only the *second* part, much patched up with fragments from Syncellus, &c., many of which belong to the first. The whole work has been found entire in an Armenian translation made about a century after the death of Eusebius, which has been published with a Latin version and fragments of the Greek, wherever they could be found. It seems well edited, though done by an Armenian. I did not indeed suspect that the whole nation had so much learning among them. The MS. was found in an Armenian convent at Jerusalem, and the work was printed at the Armenian convent of St. Lazarus, at Venice.

I am glad that you have been able to meet with any documents relative to the history of Christianity and Judaism in the south of India. You speak of the Bohras of *Surat;* there are

some, I believe, at Bombay: little, however, is known of them; and they might form a subject of enquiry. Every thing connected with the history, and, especially, the religion of any people in India, may ultimately be useful in the college. I rejoice to tell you that the buildings are going on again under the direction of Captain Hutchinson, of the engineers, who promises to use all possible despatch. I have not lately heard from the Society; nor are there any letters in Calcutta which are not considerably above six months old.

Pray present my compliments to your friend Mr. Robinson, and inform him that I was much obliged to him for his communication respecting the foundation of his church, which I hope is going on well.

Mrs. Middleton desires me to present her compliments to you.

I am, my dear sir,
With much regard,
Your very faithful servant,
T. F. Calcutta.

TO THE REV. W. H. MILL.

Calcutta, May 6, 1822.

My dear Sir,

My delay in answering your letter of the 20th of March, has arisen wholly from my wish to be able to speak more definitively with respect to

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proceedings connected with the college. All that is wanting to the admission of a few pupils, and the commencement of business, is the return of the statutes, with the sanction of the Society, which I hoped the lately arrived ship, the *Balcarras*, or some other, might by this time have brought out. This, however, is not the case; still the statutes may be shortly expected, as the draft reached England in September last, though some allowance must be made for its having arrived at a season when the Society do not transact any business of importance. I would, therefore, suggest that your presence here may probably be desirable before the end of October; at least, I do not anticipate any cause of delay, which should suspend the commencement of the college proceedings beyond that period. I fear, however, that you would find it almost impossible, and certainly hazardous, to undertake such a journey overland in the rains.

I am glad that you have met with so much to interest you, in the way of Oriental literature and antiquities; such inquiries may in time, no doubt, be advantageously connected with the more obvious and humble labours of the college: and the MSS. which you propose to deposit in the college library, will be highly acceptable, and quite in their proper place. I had lately the promise of a curious collection

of MSS. relating to Thibet, as a donation to our library; and I hope the engagement will not be forgotten. As to the books ordered from England, I have desired that they may be delayed, till I can fix the time when the library may be ready to receive them.

I am glad that you agree with me, in great measure as to the refugee black Jews at Cochin. Upon the termination *pullo*, I did not mean to lay any stress, conceiving it to be Malabar, any further than as a Hebrew termination (*palit*) sounding something like it, might be confounded by the people of the country, with something more familiar to them, and which, it now turns out, would be as applicable to a synagogue as to any other place of worship. The only question is, whether *Misroi* be Malabar also; for then, unless indeed it still mean Egyptian, there would be an end of the whole conjecture. I think I have seen somewhere, that *misra*, in Sanscrit, or something very *like* it, means *mixed*; which, if the Malabar borrow the word, would favour the common interpretation, or rather opinion, of the origin of those Jews.

I have just received a few pamphlets from London, among which is one by Professor Lee against Mr. John William. I have not had time to do more than look at it very hastily. I supposed that Mr. Bellamy already, after his ignorance had been so thoroughly exposed by Mr.

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Whittaker, would never more have presumed to talk about the Hebrew SS. But it seems he has been *answering* Mr. Whittaker. I cannot imagine what he could find to say.

Pray give my compliments to your friend Mr. Robinson, and tell him that I have received his letter, and hope to be able to answer it to-morrow. Mrs. Middleton desires her compliments.

I am, my dear sir,
Your's sincerely,
T. F. Calcutta.

That the interests of the southern missions, and the other objects of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, continued to occupy the anxious attention of the Bishop will appear from the subjoined passages of his correspondence with their secretary, Dr. Gaskin.

Calcutta, March 22, 1822.

Reverend and dear Sir,

. . . . . I am sorry that you still find any difficulty in procuring missionaries: I cannot account for it. I think, however, it may be advisable to look out for young men in England, to be brought up as clergymen, and ordained under the act for the colonies. This act affords the Society a facility much wanted some years since; and though the Danes and Germans are often

very laborious and able men, still your missions, I apprehend, should, under the present establishment, be really from the Church of England. There are many reasons, some of them obvious, and others more remote, which prompt me to this suggestion; though I believe I have offered it before. I rejoice, therefore, to find that Mr. Falcke has been ordained by the Bishop of London, and very glad shall I be to hear of his arrival at Madras. Palamcottah, a dependency of the Tanjore mission, has lately been occupied by the missionaries of another Society. I have caused an intimation to be given to the parties concerned, that our Society are sending out a missionary to Palamcottah (the same with Tinnevelly) who may be shortly expected; and *I hope* that all will be right; and yet the new missionaries have purchased property at Palamcottah, and made other arrangements for their permanency. I would, however, take leave to suggest, that more missionaries must be sent out by the Society; or it will be impossible, amidst the great number of missionaries now sent out to India, and the manifest preference which is given, in the choice of stations, to those at which Christian congregations are already formed, to maintain the ground so honourably gained by our Society in former times. When Mr. Falcke arrives, your missionaries in the south of India, will be still only

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six, Mr. Holzberg, having long been divested of that character. Cuddalore, therefore, a most interesting station, will still be vacant; and of the *six*, Dr. Rottler is, perhaps, almost the oldest European in India, and Mr. Kolhoff is now considerably advanced in years. Supposing either of these, or any one of the number, to make a vacancy, without having his successor at hand, very serious inconvenience must be sustained; and I could not provide the remedy. All this, however, is independent of what I have already proposed as to sending missionaries to Calcutta.

With respect to the employment of Christian David of Ceylon, who is a most worthy man, and much attached to the Society, I hardly know what to advise. He was anxious to be ordained last year, when I was at Colombo, being one of the preachers in that island, acting under the authority of the government, and it was merely a legal scruple to which I demurred. He was, however, poor man, sadly disappointed and hurt, to my great concern. He would, I have no doubt, make a good missionary; but I question the expediency of his receiving the *Lutheran* ordination for that purpose, for reasons already alleged; and without some kind of ordination, I do not see how he can be employed by the Society. If the scruple, to which I have alluded, shall be removed, I shall feel no difficulty in ordaining him to act in his present

situation at Jaffna; and there, perhaps, he would be more in his proper sphere than in acting with our missionaries from Europe. I am glad to hear that the Society have sent him a donation. I believe that no man has laboured more faithfully in the Christian cause.

Upon the question of the education of young Pohlé, I have less hesitation than upon the preceding one. It appears to me that he is precisely such a subject as was contemplated in the foundation of the college; and that if he, and others such, be sent to England for education, a primary object of the institution will be defeated.

My hope and earnest recommendation is, that the Society, who have so munificently contributed to the erection of the college, will found therein five scholarships, to be filled up always according to the statutes, in which I have suggested a reservation in favour of the sons of missionaries,—the very idea of the college is to further the missionary designs of the Church. The expense of this measure I cannot accurately calculate without actual experience in the college; but I imagine, that the application of a sum sufficient to produce 350*l.* per annum, i. e. 50*l.* for the support of each scholar, and 100*l.* for the Tamul teacher, would be all that is required, buildings being already provided, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

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paying the salaries of the professors, and generally maintaining the establishment. Or, considering the advantage of remitting *to* India, and at the same time allowing money to produce here only five per cent. (the government securities do not, at present, produce more) 6,000*l.* would *certainly* for ever endow in the college five scholarships, and a Tamul teacher. This would not, I admit, relieve the Society entirely from the necessity of selecting missionaries at home. I hardly contemplate such a change in the state of things as to make the aid of European talent and energy superfluous; but it would greatly reduce the demand. The sons of missionaries from Europe, would, if well educated in the college, be quite as good as Europeans. The college statutes, however, of which I communicated an outline for the consideration of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel nearly twelve months ago, may possibly be not altogether unknown to your Society; and they will convey very fully the objects and uses of the institution. I will only observe that your having always five students in the college, will give you a command of agents, both missionaries, catechists, and schoolmasters, such as in due time, and with the Divine blessing, will infuse new vigour into your missionary system, and, above all things, contribute to its permanency; and I should even suggest my conviction, that you cannot, in the altered state

of things, long go on upon the present plan. I should remark, that there are two other boys, a son of Mr. Kolhoff, and of the late Mr. Horst, both of them your missionaries, whose views are directed to the college, and respecting whom Mr. Kolhoff writes to me with very great interest. it will be a boon to your missionaries, and an encouragement to them, to know that their sons, if suitable in point of disposition and talents, will be received into such an asylum, and be enabled to carry on, with every advantage, the pious labours of their fathers.

Calcutta, April 11, 1822.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

. . . . . I have from the 1st of last month (March), granted an allowance on behalf of the Society, of fifty rupees per month, to the secretary of our diocesan committee, for the services of a moonshee to assist in the work of translation into the Hindoostanee language; it is usual to retain such persons in similar instances, and nothing in fact can be done well without their assistance.

We have this day had a general meeting of the Calcutta diocesan committee; and I rejoice to find that the books on the supplemental list just received, give great satisfaction; it was generally felt by the meeting, that the diffusion of such books must, with the Divine blessing,

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be productive of great good, and that they are especially wanted in this country. I would earnestly recommend the extension of the list; and perhaps it may deserve consideration whether the following scale is within the view of the Society, viz.:—Archdeacon Nares's Veracity of the Evangelists; Dr. Burney's Abridgement of Pearson on the Creed; Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull; Paley's Evidences; Archbishop Potter on Church Government; a selection to be made from the Spectator, consisting *chiefly* of Addison's Saturday papers; Jenkin on the Christian Religion; Lord Clarendon's Essays: and if poetry be admissible, the excellent collection, attributed to the Bishop of Killaloe, the Parent's Poetical Anthology. It is possible, however, that my views may be directed rather to the state of India than of England: and it is probable that even if all these books should be approved, their number may be, though light, too great,—I merely throw out the suggestion.

I am sorry to state, that in our stores here we have, as has happened before, scarcely a prayer-book left. It will, indeed, be gratifying to the Society to know that the demand is so great: before the establishment of their committees in the East, the book of common prayer, in any cheap edition and binding, adapted to the circumstances of the lower classes, rarely found its way into the country: the number dispersed

throughout our eastern dominions of late years has been very great, and yet the actual demand seems rather to increase. In these circumstances, I would request that 200 copies, 12mo demy, long primer, bound in calf, be sent out, in addition to any that have been ordered before the date of this letter, to be accounted for hereafter. In future we must endeavour to be more provident, by ordering a larger proportion of prayer-books, and fewer tracts."

A few more passages selected from his correspondence, now rapidly drawing to a close, will further display the various cares and apprehensions which were constantly crowding upon his mind.

Calcutta, March 21, 1822.

. . . . . We have now in India that monstrous despotism, and tremendous engine of corruption, which some call the liberty of the press. The government, in an evil hour, authorised it; and now they do not know what to do with it. Some time ago the secretary of government prosecuted an editor for a libel on them, charging them with corruptness in their office, and were foiled. And this man is at the head of a party who attack all that hitherto has been held sacred, with an effect of which you can have no idea in England, because the society here is small, and such discussions are new. . . .

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A subscription paper is going about, to raise money for a chapel in the suburb across the water, *to be served by ministers of all persuasions.* I could have prevented this, had there been a disposable chaplain here. But, instead of that, there are not four chaplains for the whole of the soldiery! The other day, an application was actually made to the government, that an officer should have authority to perform clerical duties to a large body of military!"

May 7, 1822.

To revert to the college, I have received a proposition from a learned clergyman in this country, (the same who published a sermon preached before me in Bombay, Mr. Robinson,) to be employed in a translation of the Old Testament. The Bible Society grant (of 5000*l.*) cannot be better employed than in bringing within the sphere of the college all the ability and talent that offers itself. I do not, myself, entertain any high expectations from the *mere dissemination* of the Scriptures among Mussulmans and Hindoos. I have very plainly intimated this in the second of my two charges. Still translations must be made. They may do something; and missionaries can do nothing, or very little, without them. I mean, therefore, to give all encouragement to Mr. Robinson. If well done, it will be a grand work to issue from the college

press. You will do me the justice to suppose, that with such objects in view, and with many others, if I had time to prosecute them, I should not be desirous of returning to England immediately, even if it were in my power. Still, however, the idea of *never* returning to England is one which I cannot contemplate with tranquillity. If any thing is done to shorten my period, I must do it soon. . . . . As it is now fixed, it precludes all hope of return. That hope, I believe, is venial. The feeling is interwoven with all my affections; and if I could return with some remnant of health and activity, I should not despair of being useful to the Church at home; more useful, in fact, than I can be here, beset as I am with difficulties in the performance of my *most ordinary duties*. Years have not hitherto abated my zeal; and I sometimes feel that in the cool and refreshing atmosphere of England, I could labour the whole day long. That, indeed, I do in India; but in the languor of such a climate, a day produces very little, and to perceive how little is the worst of all discouragements. . . . . .

Pray send me, above all things, Wilson's History of Christ's Hospital. It would be unnatural in me not to have a warm interest in that institution, the source, perhaps, of greater good than any other school in England. Among the letters which I am most anxiously expecting, is one to announce that I am a governor. I

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sent the requisite donation from Ceylon, about a year ago[1]. I bless God that I have been

[1] This was enclosed in a letter to his friend Mr. Ward, from Colombo, in which he says, " I have to request that you will take an early opportunity of waiting upon the treasurer of Christ's Hospital with the enclosed, being the amount of my donation to *the noblest institution in the world!* and an imperfect acknowledgment of what I owe to it, as the instrument of a merciful Providence. The following is the letter in in which he announced his donation to the treasurer :—

TO THE WORSHIPFUL THE TREASURER OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, LONDON.

Colombo, May 12, 1821.

Sir,

Without having the honour of being personally known to you, I take leave to address you as the treasurer of Christ's Hospital. My object is to make what I feel to be a very inadequate acknowledgment of the gratitude which I owe, and of the affection which I bear, to that royal foundation. I cannot be insensible that I am indebted, under Providence, for the station which I fill, and for any means which it may afford me of doing good, to the early protection and sound instruction which I received within the walls of that house; and my prayer will ever be, that the Almighty may raise up to it patrons and benefactors through all succeeding time. I remit, by this conveyance, to my friend, S. S. Ward, Esq. of the accountant-general's office, Chancery Lane, a bill for four hundred pounds (400*l.*) sterling, with instructions to pay the amount to your order. Invoking the Divine blessing on yourself, and on all who maintain and advance the interests of the institution,

I have the honour, sir, to be, with great respect,

Your most obedient servant,

T. F. Calcutta.

enabled to do somewhat towards the repayment of so vast a debt. Pray do not lose the first opportunity of sending the book; though I know nothing of it but the title, as given in the Remembrancer; but it is sure to contain something to interest an *alumnus*. . . . . Mrs. Middleton, you will be pleased to hear, is still very well; though, like myself, she grows old. She is, however, nearly all that I have to rest upon in India; *particeps omnium consiliorum, et, pro viribus, adjutrix.*"

We now approach the close of the Bishop's correspondence. On the first of June he addressed the following letter to Mr. Ward:—

Calcutta, June 1, 1822.

My dear Friend,

Your letter of the 15th of November, received most unexpectedly yesterday evening, (for no ship had been announced) relieved me from some uneasiness; so long an interval has not passed, I believe, without my hearing from you, since I came to India. The interval, however, between the *writing* of your letters (July and November), was not not so very long; but your last letter, just received, has had a very long passage. However, old as it is, it was very welcome; and one or two letters, which accompanied it, and are of much less value, were yet refreshing to my spirits, which lately have suf-

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fered sadly from the want of intelligence from friends in England. English letters are by far the greatest luxury which a thorough Englishman, like myself, can enjoy in India.

I was concerned to find, that at the latter part of August, you were unwell. Your life is, indeed, laborious; and you must exceedingly enjoy your periods of relaxation from business. *I* labour too, in a somewhat different way, seldom allowing myself a respite from employment connected with my duties till six o'clock in the evening; and though, from the extreme heat, which has for some time past been dreadful, but little comparatively is done, the fatigue sometimes amounts to exhaustion. Then, we have no Tunbridge Wells or Ramsgate, or any change or variety whatever: the only recreation is the regular evening drive, which presents precisely the same variety as the horse enjoys in his mill; the horse performing his revolution in a minute, while *our* round occupies about an hour. As to incidents and events, which serve to agitate and exercise the mind, and prevent stagnation, there is nothing here of the kind; for every thing like news we depend upon England.

I am obliged to you for executing my commission with the treasurer of Christ's Hospital, and I am glad that the governors were pleased with my letter. I assure you that I am thankful to Providence for having been enabled to attain an

object, which I have had in view for many years: it has been much on my mind, but I could not properly do it earlier. I hope sometimes to give you a turn for a freeman's son; my idea, however is, that the institution should be reserved for cases of *ingenuous distress,* and not receive children in the very lowest situations, who may just as well be sent to their parish school; there is no other asylum for the former, whilst there are a hundred for the latter.

4th June. Whilst I am writing, the *Tees* sloop of war is announced: in a few hours I shall know whether she brings my expected letters; you cannot judge of the interest which the arrival of a ship excites here among those, though they are few, whose principal concern is with England.

5th June. The only letter for this house by the *Tees* is one from yourself, in which I anxiously looked for some tidings of the packet of letters and sermons conveyed to England by Mr. Mill; but in vain. The next ship may, perhaps, end my suspense.—With our united regards to Mrs. Ward and the family,

Believe me ever your sincere friend,

T. F. Calcutta.

On the 8th of June he began his last letter to Mr. Norris, which was not closed till the 27th of the same month, about ten days before his

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death. It commences in a tone of more than usual seriousness, and even dejection.

"It is, this day, just eight years, since I embarked at Portsmouth; when poor archdeacon Thomas assisted Mrs. Middleton into the boat, and was, of course, the last of my acquaintance whom I saw in England. It was exceedingly improbable that we should ever meet again; and perhaps, all things considered, it was hardly to be expected, though he was the older man, that I should be the survivor. But so the Almighty has ordained it. I sometimes wonder at the manner in which, amid the continual havoc around me, I have been preserved, and my wife also, without whom, in solitude and destitution, I should be as nothing!"

In this last sentence he touches upon a subject of heavy disquietude. There was nothing which he appeared to contemplate with deeper consternation than the possibility of his being left to survive the faithful companion of his fortunes. This feeling was rendered more intense by a severe indisposition, under which she was then suffering, and by the recollection that he had once, since his residence in India, been actually on the point of losing her, by an attack of cholera, from the effects of which she was with great difficulty recovered; and this, at a time when that dreadful scourge was sweeping off the native population by myriads. His

terrors were further aggravated by the circumstance that he was without children, and that the loss of Mrs. Middleton would, therefore, consign him to a state of the most hopeless and appalling desertion. She had been the partaker of all his anxieties; and, without her, the world was, to his imagination, a scene of such dreariness and bereavement, that his heart sunk at the very thoughts of it.

At this time, too, his mind was kept almost upon the rack by his extreme anxiety to hear from England, and by the repeated disappointment of his expectations in that particular. From this source of uneasiness, indeed, he had, in the course of his residence in India, suffered almost continual disturbance. Not a vessel could enter the Ganges without bringing out something, whether in the shape of letters, or pamphlets, or money, or missionaries, to some of the religious Societies established in Calcutta; and it very frequently happened that the Bishop learned from others, the proceedings of those, with whom he was so closely connected in England, long before the slightest intimation of their movements reached him, officially, from themselves. He was frequently kept in a state of harassing suspense by this irregularity and delay in public communications. At this period, more especially, it happened that ship after ship arrived at Calcutta, without bringing him a

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single line on any one of the various and pressing matters which then absorbed his thoughts. That some of his papers relative to the college, and to other important and difficult affairs, had reached England a twelvemonth before, he had fully ascertained; and he was awaiting, with agitation and anxiety, the letters which should satisfy him that his measures had been approved. Under these circumstances, it can be no subject of wonder that, in allusion to the opening passage of the above letter, he should continue thus:—

. . . . . "There is something gloomy in this commencement: I ascribe it partly to the remembrance of the day; partly to the weather (as gloomy and comfortless as I ever knew in England in November); and partly, to the sad disappointment which I have lately sustained in not having any tidings from home. Three ships, bearing several thousands of letters for Calcutta, have brought me but two or three, of no interest, and of a very old date. *It is impossible that any man in England, in the centre of life and business and intelligence, can comprehend the sensations which such disappointments create. He must first place himself in my situation!*"

He then proceeds to give detailed and minute directions respecting painted glass, and a small organ, for the college chapel, towards which objects, he, with his usual liberality, gave the sum

of 400*l.* He also sends an order for sacramental plate, to an amount not exceeding 150*l.* which Mrs. Middleton (whom he justly describes as an affectionate daughter of the Church,) had claimed the privilege of presenting to the chapel from her own personal funds. He then proceeds to notice a munificent offer from the Church Missionary Society, who, in November, 1821, had crowned their generous benefaction by a further vote of 1000*l.* to the uses of the college for the year 1822; the committee in London, by their secretary, Mr. Pratt, adding the expression of their confident expectation, that an annual repetition of the same grant would be obtained from the liberality and resources of the Society. In communicating this vote, the Society requested permission to educate students at the college at their own cost, professing an earnest desire to place all their ordained missionaries under the Bishop's direction. They, however, intimated a wish that their missionaries should not be compelled to confine themselves wholly to the work of converting the natives; but should, also, in certain specified cases, be licensed to minister to Europeans. To this latter proposal the Bishop distinctly objected; partly, no doubt, upon the ground, that the college was designed for the education of missionaries *to the natives;* whereas the proposal of the Society might, in process of time, contribute to change its character, and

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convert it into a college for the education of ministers for congregations of Christian Europeans in India. With regard to the grant itself, the Bishop was deeply sensible of its liberality; but, nevertheless, he felt himself under the necessity of declining it for the present. Before he ventured to accept the offer, it was necessary that the college statutes (which he was anxiously expecting from England, with the sanction of the Society for Propagating the Gospel,) should first be examined by himself, as well as by the Church Missionary committee; since otherwise it would be impossible to know whether the grant could consistently be made or received [1]. He felt, at the same time, that it would not long be possible to resist the wish of the Church missionaries to be licensed for the same purposes as the chaplains, unless the presidencies were more regularly provided with ministers; and that the refusal to comply would, under such circumstances, be infallibly ascribed to a secret disregard for the spiritual welfare of the European community in India. "Is it not strange," he exclaims, "to read in the newspapers, 'On such a day was married by the brigade-major, &c. &c.' under a Church establishment, where every thing but the

[1] The statutes, which did not reach India till after the Bishop's death, met the wishes of all friends of union, by opening the college indifferently to all societies of the united Church.

establishment is kept up in the highest efficiency? There are, however, plenty of clergy in the country belonging to the Church Missionary Society, and they evidently wish to be employed (in the absence of chaplains) as regular clergy. Hitherto I have firmly opposed this; but it cannot go on long. There can be no great question between employing missionaries in the orders of our Church, or even *brigade-majors*, and suffering the people to live without religion altogether." He then intimates that, if it were once understood, that in consequence of the vast accession of territory, the Company would, in future, provide chaplains only for the principal stations, he would then move the Society for Propagating the Gospel to get a grant from the government to enable them to do for India what is now done for Nova Scotia. "But under the existing state of things,"—he adds, "You may easily imagine that my situation is embarrassing and distressing; and I have other difficulties to contend with which give me great uneasiness. I am as willing as any man to devote myself to the cause in which I am engaged: but labours, of which no fruit is apparent, *seem* not to be blessed; and the fruit must, in the end, be little, in my case, if, with powers, such as they are, more likely to decay than be strengthened, my difficulties remain the same, or rather, increase daily.". . . . . .

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"I enclose, by the way, an account which may interest you, of the state of the weather when I began this letter. The editor's thermometer was rather higher than mine, though the heat was tremendous. It sunk in twenty-four hours to 82°, and the feeling (such is the force of habit), was that of being uncomfortably cold!"

"P.S. 24th June. Still without letters from England, or any arrival! Since the date of the beginning of this letter we have had most awful weather; one night of terrific crashes of thunder, and of lightning a continued blaze; and at the mouth of the Great Ganges, Burhampootra, 200 miles to the eastward, an inundation, occasioned by a hurricane from the south, which prevented the waters from falling into the sea, has swept away many thousands of the inhabitants, with their cattle, grain, agricultural implements, &c., in one wide desolation. In one place 1,000 souls perished. The whole loss is not yet ascertained: but it must be immense in a district which is low and perfectly level, and where the only means of escape must have been by getting into boats, or by clinging to fragments of floating trees. For most of the trees are swept away, and not a hut remains. The government immediately sent off orders for the relief of the survivors; and a subscription is going on here for the same purpose. But it is feared that many will perish with cold and hunger, before

any supplies can arrive. I observe in the papers accounts of extraordinary floods in England; but you know nothing of those wars of the elements which take place in these tropical climates . . . . . I heard lately of the illness of Captain Hutchinson, whose life is of great importance to me; but I have just heard from himself that he hopes to get out again in a few days. Mrs. Middleton has, latterly, not been very well; and, during the last few days, has been in the bustle of removing back to our usual residence, which has undergone a long repair. We are not yet settled. And yet, to-morrow, we are to give a grand dinner to forty people. While I am writing, the *Duchess of Athol* is announced from England; the date not mentioned, but probably in February. Surely she will bring me something!—and, I hope, a letter from yourself, than which nothing can be more welcome.—25th June. *The Duchess of Athol brings me not a single letter.*"

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Review of the difficulties and embarrassments incident to the first English bishop in India—General effect on the constitution of Bishop Middleton—Circumstances connected with his last days—His illness and death—Particular features of his character—Testimony of bishop Heber—General principles of his administration of the Episcopal office in India—Beneficial results of the Ecclesiastical Establishment.

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THE reader, it is presumed, will, by this time, be fully in possession of the various adverse circumstances which kept the mind of Bishop Middleton in a state of almost perpetual agitation, more especially towards the latter part of his residence in India. The nervous energies of his constitution had, probably, for some time been sinking under a load of duties, to which no single mind or body could long be equal, aggravated as they were by the multiplied impediments incident to the novelty of his office in that country, and to the peculiar circumstances of the Church in which he was called to execute it. From the foregoing narrative, illustrated as it

is by his own confidential correspondence, it appears that, unfortunately, he was, to the last, without the satisfaction of perceiving the slightest abatement of his difficulties. On the contrary, every year, and almost every day, seemed to bring with it some fresh embarrassment; and, what was peculiarly distressing, these obstructions were found to occur precisely in those departments of duty, which in England are merely matters of routine; so that he was perpetually compelled to waste his force, as it were, in overcoming friction and resistance, instead of bringing it to bear at once upon the grand and vital interests of the Church. In some sort, his condition resembled that of the builders of the second temple, who had one hand upon their work, and with the other, held a weapon for their protection. He laboured, under the anxiety and terror incident to a consciousness of decaying powers, impaired resources, and a constantly accumulating task. While the exertions and the numbers of every other class of Christians were daily increasing, the energies of the Church were suffering from the insufficient and diminished strength of her establishment of chaplains; and that ground was thus left open to miscellaneous adventure, which he had been anxious to secure to the cause of episcopacy and uniformity, and to the operations of steady and concentrated enterprise. To him, at the latter

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period of his life, the interests of the establishment *seemed*, at times, instead of advancing, to be perceptibly going backward; and his apprehensions on this head were rendered, as we have seen, more painfully urgent by the pernicious activity of a licentious press. On the erroneous liberality, which had given full freedom of action in our Indian possessions, to that tremendous instrument, he had looked, from the very first, with the deepest apprehension. It was his profound conviction that the press is an engine which has strength enough to shake almost into ruins a frame of society constituted like that of India: and he soon felt that no part of the fabric would be more exposed to concussion from its violence than the recently Established Church. Oppressed by these causes of disquiet, he describes himself, in his correspondence, as resembling a man who is doomed to work in manacles and fetters—as consuming his life in endless beginnings, and as condemned to a sort of Sisyphéan toil.

This constant and painful commotion of spirits, however, was never suffered to interrupt him in the discharge of duty, or the exercise of hospitality. And doubtless, his stedfast piety induced him to rest, with habitual confidence, on the goodness and wisdom of Providence, and often look forward, with cheerfulness and hope, to the more favourable prospects of his Church. On

the Monday preceding his death, he received the clergy, as was his custom, at dinner. In the early part of that evening, he was severely agitated by some information respecting certain proceedings which had been instituted against him, in the supreme court, by one of his own clergy, on whom he had been under the necessity of inflicting censure. This depression, however, he shook off, and became unusually cheerful and animated, and exhibited, with much appearance of satisfaction, some handsome improvements which he had recently made in his residence. On Tuesday, July 2d, he, unfortunately, persisted in visiting the college, at an early hour in the afternoon, in spite of the remonstrances of his physician, who happened to be in the house, in attendance on Mrs. Middleton, and who strongly represented the danger of the proceeding. All that could be obtained from him was a promise that he never would venture thither again at that period of the day; little thinking that he was about to place his last footsteps on that favourite and delightful spot. On the same day he received a visit from Mr. Bayley, the chief secretary to government, who found him, to all appearance, in perfect health; and with whom he conversed, in a tone of great animation, respecting the various means of diffusing knowledge and truth throughout India—his own plans and intentions, if Providence should spare

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his life—his past cares and anxieties—and his future hopes and prospects.

On the Wednesday he was occupied for eight hours together in writing to government respecting the proceedings in the supreme court, above alluded to. He then declared that he was quite exhausted; and proposed to Mrs. Middleton, who had been suffering from ill-health, that she should accompany him in the carriage before the sun was gone down. They had not proceeded far, when the slant sun, which is always dangerous, and especially at the damp and sickly season of the year, shone full upon him. This slight cause, acting upon a shattered frame of nerves, was sufficient to produce fatal effects. He immediately declared that he was struck by the sun, and returned home. On retiring to rest, he said that he thought himself seriously ill, and that he knew not what would be the consequence. He, nevertheless, positively refused to call in medical advice. In the course of the evening his symptoms became aggravated to an alarming degree, and indicated the presence of fever of a type and character scarcely known in England, and very rare even in India. The high pulse, hot skin, and other ordinary symptoms, were present only in a very slight degree; neither were they prevalent, in any considerable extent, during his illness. But there appeared, from the very first, a most distressing anxiety, irritability,

and restlessness, which it was impossible to subdue, and which made his illness doubly painful to his family and his friends. He repeatedly insisted on getting up to write; and it was not without the greatest difficulty that he was restrained from actually doing so. All this while, he most strictly forbade Mrs. Middleton to send for a physician; till, at last, on Thursday, the fever had become so violent, that he was persuaded to call in Dr. Nicolson, on whose experience and skill he placed the greatest reliance. He was now, perhaps, fully conscious of his danger. Still, it seems, he would not allow any intimation of his alarming condition to be conveyed to his friends; and, almost to the very last, they remained in total ignorance of the extremity of his danger. In the course of the following Monday there were slight appearances of amendment. Some hopes were even entertained that the danger was passing by, and that a favourable crisis might be at hand; but these were soon dissipated by an alarming accession of fever and irritability, which came on towards the evening. He then quitted his library, and walked incessantly up and down his drawing-room, in a state of the most appalling agitation. About nine o'clock his chaplain, Mr. Hawtayne, was admitted to see him; and was inexpressibly shocked to find him on his couch, in a state, to all appearance, of violent delirium; his thoughts wander-

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ing, his articulation gone; his faculties, in short, a melancholy wreck, at the mercy of the tempest which had shattered them. In that condition he lay, breathing and struggling violently, till a short time previous to his departure. The severity of the conflict then appeared wholly to cease. A smile of unspeakable serenity and peace spread itself over his features, and, in a few minutes, he gently expired. Such was the tranquillity of the last moment, that it was not marked by a struggle, or even by a movement.

Thus departed Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, precisely at the hour of eleven, on Monday night, July 8, 1822, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the ninth of his consecration, to the inexpressible loss of the Christian Church. The persons present, at the time of his decease, were, the archdeacon of Calcutta, Dr. Loring,—the senior chaplain, the Rev. Daniel Corrie,—John Trotter, Esq. whom the Bishop had distinguished by his friendship and confidence,—his private chaplain Mr. Hawtayne,—and his physician Dr. Nicolson. Of these, all, except Dr. Nicolson, were wholly unprepared for the bereavement they were about to sustain, till a few hours before he breathed his last.

The death of Dr. Middleton was announced to the public, in an extraordinary gazette, by command of the Governor-general in council, in the following language; which was worthy of

the distinguished body from whence it issued, and of the admirable prelate whose memory it honoured.

CALLCUTTA GOVERNMENT GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Fort William, Wednesday, July 10, 1822.

With sentiments of the deepest concern, the Governor-general in council notifies to the public, the demise, on the night of Monday last, of the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

His Excellency in council, adverting to the unaffected piety, the enlarged benevolence, and the acknowledged moderation of the late Bishop, conceives that he only anticipates the eager and unanimous feeling of all classes of the Christian inhabitants of this city, when he announces his desire, that every practicable degree of respect and veneration should be manifested, on this most distressing occasion, to the memory of this excellent and lamented prelate.

His Excellency in council is pleased, therefore, to request that the principal officers of government, both civil and military, will attend at the melancholy ceremony of the Bishop's interment; and that every other public demonstration of attention and respect, consistent with the occasion, be observed on the day appointed for the funeral.

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By command of his Excellency the most noble the Governor-general in council,

C. LUSHINGTON,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government.

Friday evening, (July 12, 1822) having been fixed upon for the solemnity, the day was passed in making such preparations as might be conformable to the wishes thus expressed by the government, and, at the same time, consistent with that modesty and plainness which had been enjoined by the deceased himself. The flag at Fort William was hung half-mast high during the whole day. At twenty minutes before seven the funeral procession moved from Chowringhee, amidst every public demonstration of respectful sorrow. It consisted of the hearse, attended by the mutes and plume-bearers, and followed by the late Bishop's carriage, and five mourning-coaches, containing the clergy, the pall-bearers, and mourners, with a numerous train of the carriages of the principal inhabitants of Calcutta. Minute guns were discharged from the ramparts of Fort William from the moment of the departure of the procession till its arrival at the cathedral. The entrance of the procession into the church, which was hung with black, and lighted, was marked by a solemn dirge from the organ. The proper psalm was read by the archdeacon, Dr. Loring, and the lesson by Mr.

Corrie; after which was sung Handel's anthem, —"When the ear heard him, then it blessed him; and when the eye saw him then it gave witness to him. His body is buried in peace, but his name liveth evermore." The body was then lowered into the grave[1] within the communion rails, while the archdeacon concluded the solemn service. On the following Sunday, the archdeacon displayed the character and services of his deceased Bishop, in a funeral sermon, which left a deep impression on the hearts of the Christian community of Calcutta.

It had been the wish of Bishop Middleton to be interred in the vault beneath the college chapel, had it been consecrated at the time of his death. But, although the incomplete state of the edifice rendered it impracticable to deposit his remains there, the following beautifully simple inscription, composed by himself, has been since placed in the chapel:—

In. hoc. Sacello[2].
Nomen. meum. servandum. volui.
Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, S.T.P.

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[1] Bishop Middleton was the first person interred in the cathedral, by the special permission of the government.

[2] If the chapel had been consecrated, and the Bishop buried there, the beginning of this inscription was to have been thus varied:—

Prope. hunc. locum.
Mortales. exuvias. reponendas. volui. &c. &c. &c.

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Primus. Diœceseos. Calcuttensis. Episcopus.
Hujusce. Collegii. Ædificandi. Suasor.
Et. pro. viribus. adjutor.
Jesu. Christe.
Lux. mundi. peccatorum. salus.
Præconibus. tuis. hinc. exeuntibus.
Optima. quæque. dona. elargiaris.
Et. miserescas. animæ. meæ.

Obiit. anno. Redemptoris. MDCCCXXII.
Ætatis. LIII.
Episcopatus. IX.
Voluit. ELIZABETHA. uxor. conjunctissima.
Eodem. marmore. insigniri.

In person, Bishop Middleton was something above the usual stature. His complexion was florid; and his features were handsome and commanding. His form indicated no ordinary measure of activity and vigour; and it appeared, on an examination of the body, that the general organization was perfect, and the frame sound and healthful, without the slightest discernible indication of premature decay. It was remarked, however, that there were some peculiarities in the structure and conformation of the skull and brain, which, in the judgment of professional men, amply accounted for that susceptible disposition, and liability to nervous excitement, which he frequently displayed in his life time, and which the cares of his vast diocese were incessantly aggravating. In temperament he was sanguine and

zealous; full of energy in the pursuit of objects which he believed to be praiseworthy and important,—intensely solicitous for the success of his exertions,—and liable, consequently, to occasional depression, from the effects of unreasonable and vexatious opposition. In one respect he was unquestionably an ambitious man,—he was animated by an ardent passion to be distinguished among the wise and the good. He had incessant aspirations after every thing that can raise and dignify human nature. *Whatsoever things were just, or lovely, or of good report,—if there were any virtue, or if there were any praise,* such were the things perpetually present to his hopes and meditations.

His thirst for knowledge was almost insatiable. His powers of intellect were vigorous and excursive, and his memory at once ready and tenacious; and the result was, that his scholarship was of the highest order. His admiration of the Greek writers,—more especially of their works in prose,—was almost enthusiastic; and it would perhaps be difficult to name any literary man, of these latter days, whose knowledge of them was more intimate or more extensive. Among English divines he is entitled to an honourable place. His theology was derived, not from modern compilations, but from a minute and laborious study of the sacred text, illustrated by the eloquence and by the expositions of the primitive Christian

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writers. Next to the study of the Bible itself, ecclesiastical history was, probably, his favourite pursuit. There is reason to believe that no important period in the annals of the Church were left unexplored by him; and that, in these researches, he trusted to no guidance but that of the original authorities.

On the private virtues of Bishop Middleton, it is impossible for those who knew him best, to reflect without a melancholy delight. In describing them, however, the author of these pages can hardly make any righteous pretensions to absolute and rigorous impartiality. A long acquaintance with the excellences of his lost friend may, perhaps, have disqualified him for a clear discernment of the spots and blemishes which may have been scattered over his character. He is, however, conscious of no wilful exaggeration in representing Bishop Middleton as distinguished by those qualities which exalt into solemnity and sacredness, our regrets for the loss of great and good men. They who have enjoyed his society and his friendship, can never think of him without feeling *their hearts burn within them.* A mere enumeration of all that was valuable in his character, would convey no just impression of the man. We might say that he was warm and generous in his attachments,—that, as a husband, he was kind and affectionate, —that in all the various relations of life he was

exemplary,—that he was benevolent and charitable, and munificently generous,—and that his heart was warm with that *good-will towards men,* which is felt by none so deeply as by those, whose whole faculties are devoted to *the glory of God.* All this we might most truly say, and yet without conveying a clear and appropriate conception of the truth. To obtain a just notion of the individual, as distinguished from many other amiable men, we must imagine these qualities in combination with a certain loftiness of mind,—with an utter incapacity for any thing base or sordid,—with a singleness and integrity of heart, which would lead those who knew him to consign to his keeping, with entire confidence, any interest, whether public or private, and however sacred and momentous.

In some respects, there is great reason to believe, that his disposition and temper have been much mistaken by many, whose knowledge of him was derived solely from their intercourse with him as a public man. Those who may be tolerably familiar with the more imposing features of his character, will probably learn, with surprise, that by nature he was, not merely kind and easy tempered, but singularly sportive and playful[1]. To him no mere earthly recreation

[1] In this and some following parts of the Memoir, the Author has ventured to introduce some sentences, which he has already submitted to the public, in the pages of the Christian Remembrancer, for June 1827.

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seemed equal to the *abandonment* of a select social circle. When surrounded by a few friends, who possessed his confidence and attachment, nothing could be more winning or more animating than his society. His vast stores of erudition, his quick memory, his keen perception of pleasantry and humour—always kept "within the limits of becoming mirth,"—rendered him one of the most instructive and entertaining of companions. Among his severest sacrifices in India, he used to reckon the loss of that sort of conversation, which is enlivened by the brisk and frequent interchange of classical application and allusion; one of the most innocent, and, at the same time, most delightful recreations that can be enjoyed by a finished scholar; but which it can be scarcely reasonable to expect in a society so peculiarly constituted as that of India. This circumstance is mentioned purely for the purpose of shewing how open he was to all those blameless and "unreproved pleasures," which sweeten the repose and leisure of superior minds.

That, like all human beings, he had his failings, it would be absurd to question. But it may safely be affirmed, that even his defects arose, either from the excessive operation of some good principle, or from the extreme delicacy of his nervous temperament. It is well known, for instance, that, by many in India, his

personal demeanour was thought to be rather too deeply stamped with official solemnity and rigour. If this were really the case, no doubt can be entertained by those who knew him well, that the peculiarity was connected with his lively and habitual sense of duty; certainly with no feeling so worthless as that of personal arrogance, or love of ostentation. He was placed in a post of almost unexampled difficulty; in a situation, the novelty of which demanded inflexible firmness, and unwearied vigilance; and which, not unnaturally, led him to believe that it would scarcely be prudent for him to lay aside, for a moment, the high public character which he was called upon to maintain without compromise. Under these very peculiar and trying circumstances, it would not be surprising, if the posture of dignity, which he often felt himself compelled *defensively* to assume, should, gradually and imperceptibly, have given to his manner an air of constraint and reserve, very far from natural to the man.

Again,—there never, perhaps, existed an individual more intensely anxious to do right than Bishop Middleton; and this incessant solicitude, aggravated by the want of legal advice and support in ecclesiastical matters of the greatest delicacy and perplexity, and acting, too, upon a constitution which, though robust, was unusually sensitive—may, at times, have given to his behaviour

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an appearance of irritability, impatience, and agitation. When we recollect the opposition he had to encounter, the jealous vigilance with which he was beset, and the vexation which perpetually assailed him, in the discharge of his new and arduous functions, it is truly wonderful, —(and it shews the depth and power of the principles which supported him),—that the constant influence of this acute sensibility should, to the last, have left his strength and steadiness of purpose wholly unimpaired. That it must have rendered the process of arriving at his conclusions extremely harassing, there can be no doubt: but yet, when his resolution was once formed, he was always found to remain *stedfast and unmoveable*. His nerves may often have been shaken, but the moral principle within continued utterly impregnable. It can scarcely, however, be questioned that this severe and long continued wear of spirits must have materially hastened the period at which he was to bow down beneath his burden.

Of his labours as a Christian prelate who shall be worthy to speak? And, in the first place, who can fitly estimate that triumph of self-denial which he was enabled to achieve, when he obeyed the voice which summoned him to the diocese of India? When he was invited to this vast and untried sphere of duty, be it always remembered, he was in the plenitude of comfort,

happiness, and reputation at home. He was enjoying the society of the most distinguished scholars and divines of his day; and he was, himself, among the most eminent of their number. He was, further, well known as a powerful preacher, as an active, zealous, learned, and most intelligent churchman, as one fit to stand in the foremost ranks as a champion of the establishment. It would be difficult to name many individuals of his time, whose prospects of distinction and preferment were more bright and promising. Besides, nothing could exceed his attachment to his clerical friends and fellow-labourers at home, or the respect and esteem with which his friendship was repaid by them; nothing could be more keen than his relish for the enjoyments of that enlightened society in the midst of which he lived. If, therefore, mere secular interests or motives could have made themselves heard, when he was called to the task of founding the Anglo-Indian Church, that Church would never have had him for her spiritual father; and the banks of the Ganges might never have been adorned and hallowed by a monument so noble, as that which will now transmit his name to the remotest ages.

His sacrifice of literary eminence was, if possible, still more admirable than his abandonment of all professional hopes in his native land. And here, it would absolutely be unpardonable

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to defraud his memory of the just and eloquent testimony pronounced by his admirable successor, Bishop Heber.

"It was by a more than usual attention to the consistencies of his appropriate character, and to the paramount and indispensable necessity of his appropriate pursuits and duties, that the character of Bishop Middleton, became that which you beheld, and that which he, for the example of us all, has left behind him. That great and good man, had his mind been attracted to secular objects, possessed much of every quality on which the world bestows its favour. But, though his memory was stored with all profane and civil literature, the application of his learning and talents was to ecclesiastical purposes only. He ranked among the very foremost critics of his age: yet it was to Scriptural criticism only that his acumen was directed. He had, I am assured, an inexhaustible supply of lighter and more elegant literature; yet he sought to be remembered as a preacher and a theologian only. Nay, more, when his life-long labours were at length drawing near their term, as if fearing the applause of men, even in those branches of study which were strictly appropriate and ministerial, he consigned, as a last sacrifice, his laboured manuscripts to the flames; content to live in the memory of those who personally knew, and loved, and honoured him, and

desiring no other reward than the mercy of him, to whom his thoughts, his studies, and his prayers, had been long and steadily directed.

"One monument, however, he has left behind, of the zeal which prompted, the wisdom which planned, and the munificence which largely contributed to it, which must long preserve his name in the grateful recollection of the Indian Church; and which bids fair, under Divine protection, to become a greater blessing to these extensive lands, than any they have received from their foreign lords, since the gate was first opened by the Portuguese to the commerce and conquest of Asia[1]."

Of the principles which guided him in the administration of his diocese, the foregoing Memoir will have put the reader in full possession. He went out to India, as he entered the Church in England, under the profound conviction that episcopacy is, not merely one of many convenient forms of governing the Church of Christ, but that it is *the* form which was originally instituted by his Apostles, and which, *without interruption or question*, had been continued from generation to generation, from the Apostolic times to the days of Calvin. He therefore felt a *dispensation laid upon him* to maintain all the rights and prerogatives, attached to the episcopal function and character,

[1] Bishop Heber's Primary Charge at Calcutta.

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inviolable. To purchase popularity by a surrender of those rights, was, in his estimate, no less than a perfidious, and almost sacrilegious, breach of the highest trust. The office of a bishop he regarded as a sacred deposit, consigned to him for the benefit of the flock of Christ; accepted by him, not to pamper his own self-importance, but to enable him to lay, broad and deep, in the imperishable rock, the foundations of the Indo-British Church. To talk to him, therefore, of *concession,* when the just authority of his office was in question, was like proposing to a *faithful* steward that his master's debtors should be invited to write eighty measures on their bills, when a hundred was the number due. Besides, every day, and almost every hour, of his residence in India, taught him that concession and conciliation do not always go hand in hand:—nay, more, that it would be absolutely impossible for a bishop of India, who should make conciliation his *ruling* principle, to guard his authority from violation or decay. It is, indeed, very far from surprising, that the state of his diocese should have been such as, day by day, to fortify him in that conviction. From the hour in which a British factory had first been planted on her shores, up to the period of our imperial domination there, no Protestant bishop had ever been seen in Hindostan. A religious establishment was a thing scarcely known, or even imagined.

The very chaplains of the Company were so accustomed to civil or military control, that spiritual jurisdiction seemed to them, at first, almost like an usurping innovation. Episcopacy, therefore, on its introduction, met with ambiguous support, or open prejudice and opposition. And how, under such circumstances, was the edifice to be completed by a builder who should appear to work as if he distrusted his foundations; or who, by an attitude of hesitation and diffidence, should invite the scornful to leap over his walls, as they were rising above the ground? How, in short, could the achievement be carried on, in the midst of hostility and assault, but by one whose heart was strong in the persuasion that the cause entrusted to him was sacred; and that the fabric he had to rear must be *fitly and firmly framed together in order that it might grow into a holy temple in the Lord.*

There is one erroneous view of the episcopal office in India, which needs correction even in this country, and the prevalence of which, in the East, was a source of constant embarrassment to Bishop Middleton. It is not unusual to imagine that the president of our Asiatic Church, is chiefly to be regarded as a sort of head missionary; and that his principal duty is to encourage and keep alive the work of conversion among the natives. To this view of his office Bishop Middleton firmly, and most justly, opposed him-

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self, in the very outset of his administration. The primary object for which he came out, was to govern an established Christian Church; and he conceived that his situation and his authority would have undergone no *essential* change, even if the design of spreading the Gospel among the Hindoos had been abandoned by all parties without exception. So long as there should remain in India a community of persons already professing the Christian religion, so long would the presence of a bishop be required for its spiritual superintendence and government. To merge the pastoral in the missionary character would, therefore, be no less than, virtually, to desert the station which he was expressly appointed to maintain, and to change it for other ground, which would afford him no appropriate or distinct position.

On this principal it was, that he was uniformly anxious to keep the duties of the clergy, and those of the missionaries, separate from each other. It has been shewn that there was a constant and powerful tendency towards a confusion of these characters,—a tendency which he found it extremely difficult to counteract. In spite of all impediments, however, he felt it his duty to persevere in his resistance to it. Had he done otherwise, the usefulness of either office might, in all probability, have been seriously impaired: and, besides this, the Bishop might, then, have

had within his diocese a set of persons, who, in the discharge of their clerical functions would have been under *his* jurisdiction, while, for missionary purposes, they could have continued amenable to an association of individuals.

But though he was inflexible in the resolution to maintain the post to which he had been sent forth, it would be most injurious to imagine that he never considered himself as a debtor to the heathen. To the heathen all Christians are debtors, according to the amount of their power and their opportunities. A Christian bishop, therefore, who is worthy of the name, will never think of disowning that sacred obligation. And accordingly, whenever Bishop Middleton could direct or animate the labours of conversion, without deserting his own appropriate and peculiar station, he was ready to devote himself, with all his faculties and all his resources, to that glorious and blessed work. In truth, he regarded the episcopal office as a position which, though not assigned to him for that express purpose, was yet, of all others, the most commanding and most advantageous for the superintendence and the encouragement of missionary operations. And if it be possible that a doubt of his sincerity in this matter should still lurk in any candid mind, we have only to point to Bishop's Mission College for an irresistible refutation of it.

They who would learn to appreciate justly the

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services of Bishop Middleton, should know the language in which his worth is recorded, by those who were in constant official intercourse with him; or by those who were fully in his confidence, and intimately acquainted with his views and principles. The following, for instance, in the language of a gentleman very eminent in official station at Calcutta, in his correspondence with his friends in England shortly after the Bishop's death:—

"During the last week my mind and time have been much occupied in a very distressing duty, that of assisting and comforting poor Mrs. Middleton, under her sudden and severe bereavement. I have written to my brother a very detailed account of the heavy loss which we have sustained in the death of the Bishop. On Tuesday the 2d inst. I had a long and very gratifying conversation with him; he was in the enjoyment of perfect health, and occupied in speculations as to the means of diffusing knowledge and truth in this part of the world; his own plans and intentions, if Providence should spare his life; his past cares and anxieties, and his future hopes, and prospects. That same evening he was taken ill, and he died on the following Monday. The situation in which Dr. Middleton found himself on his arrival here was a very arduous one. In the discharge of his public functions he has conducted himself with excellent judgment,

sobriety, good sense, and moderation; by one class of persons, who anticipated from him immediate and decided exertions for the conversion of the natives, he is considered to have been lukewarm in the cause of truth, and not to have sufficiently supported the labours of missionaries. But, as far as I can judge, he pursued, soberly and zealously, the only course calculated to accomplish the object in question. Had he adopted the notions of those too hotly eager for conversion, he would have excited jealousy, fear, and suspicion, to a degree which would, in all human probability, have not only created immediate mischief, but would have placed obstacles in the way of future success, which no subsequent explanation or prudence could have removed. He looked to the general spread of education and knowledge amongst our ignorant population as necessary to prepare the way for more direct endeavours; and he gave his cordial support to the efforts of individuals and of societies directed to that object. But his chief attention, in the first instance, was judiciously given to the claims and wants of those amongst us who were, or called themselves, Christians.

"He preached frequently; and his discourses, which were always clear, forcible, and eloquent, were, I am satisfied, productive of much real good. *A beneficial change has certainly taken place in our society, of late years, and, in my*

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opinion, that change is mainly ascribable to the Bishop. His influence was unfortunately weakened by a defect in his own character. His high notions of his office, led to the assumption, of a formal and rather haughty manner; and he was, in consequence, thought pompous, repulsive, and too acutely alive to any supposed want of respect on the part of others. His loss, however, is duly and deeply felt; his measures have smoothed the path to his successor; and it is not likely that we shall have a successor possessing the high essential qualifications for the office with which Dr. Middleton was gifted.

"The income fixed for the Bishop of Calcutta is very inadequate; and Dr. Middleton was compelled to adopt a course *of very strict domestic economy,* to enable him to meet the calls of charity and benevolence, to which he was subject from all parts of his diocese. I should be glad if the salary could be largely increased. He has, in the most solemn manner, enjoined the immediate destruction of all his sermons and manuscript compositions of every sort. This is a source of deep regret to all who knew him. He had preached here a course of lectures on the Litany, full of learning, eloquence, and piety; and he had contemplated their eventual publication, after he should have revised them for the press; but he has positively directed that they also should be burnt."

To this we may add the testimony of one, who admired and venerated him in his life time, who could not be prompted by interest to overrate his virtues, and whose very name will repel the suspicion of any oblique or unworthy motive. "It would be scarcely reasonable," (says archdeacon Barnes, in a letter to a friend in England, during the vacancy of the see), "to expect another so great and good a man as Dr. Middleton, at once a scholar and a divine, from conscience firmly attached to his Church, and, in very difficult times, and trying occasions, supporting her interest with temper, firmness, and judgment." The same estimable and highly respected individual, on another occasion, speaks thus of his departed diocesan:—"In point of learning, and sound divinity, and zeal, and piety, and, I will add, *moderation also*, with great and high talents and abilities, no man could have been selected more fully qualified than Bishop Middleton. His *only* fault was something of a high carriage in his public demeanour, which gave an unfavourable impression to many, who will scarcely believe him to have had all those kind and benevolent feelings which I always found on more intimate acquaintance." Such is the language of archdeacon Barnes. It would be little better than superfluous and impertinent to heap up further testimony.

It will scarcely be thought a digression to intro-

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duce here a representation, by the same high and unimpeachable authority, of the blessings already conferred by the Established Church in India, within the limits of his own archdeaconry, and in the course of the ten years of his own service.

"When I came to Bombay in 1814[1], (says the archdeacon) there were only four chaplains on this establishment, and of these, *three* were absent. On my landing, therefore, I undertook a chaplain's duty, and performed it for several months. I succeeded in getting the Bombay government to recommend my application for an increase of chaplains, and the number was made *nine*. Last year, as the other establishments, in consequence of the extension of territory, were enlarged, I applied for a further increase, and the number is now made *twelve;* which would, perhaps, be sufficient, if that number could always be secured as resident in India. I found, also, in 1814, only *one* church in my archdeaconry, with a room, indeed, fitted up and appropriated as one, at an out-station. Since then, *four* have been erected, of which *three* have been opened for Divine service, and the *fourth* is nearly ready. Those at Poonah and Kairah are exceedingly handsome buildings with lofty spires. *Another* church has just been sanctioned, and plans and estimates for *two more*

[1] In a letter dated January 9, 1824.

have been called for. All this is very gratifying, and, when added to the institution of religious societies, (as the district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Education Society, the proceedings of which you are well acquainted with), shew the benefit of the new ecclesiastical establishment; for surely the increase of clergy, the building of churches, the establishment of schools, and the supply of religious books and tracts, must promote the extension of Christ's Church in the most effectual manner."

If there be any who are doubtful of the efficacy and usefulness of an established Episcopal Church in our Asiatic territories, let them meditate on the above faithful exposition, which exhibits such a Church in its legitimate and regular operation. The detailed history of the other two presidencies for the same period, would, doubtless, present us with results at least equally glorious and animating; and would satisfy us that, while the first Protestant prelate of India was harassed with doubts whether the Divine blessing had descended on the work committed to his hand, that work was silently prospering beyond all the hopes and all the calculations of the most sanguine benevolence and piety.

If it could be needful to establish by further proof the usefulness and efficacy of our episcopal

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polity and discipline in India, we might request of any dispassionate spectator that he would compare that branch of our religious institutions, as it now exhibits itself,—in its united character, its expanding energy, and its constantly accumulating moral influence,—with the condition to which the cause of the Church was reduced when Bishop Middleton took possession of his see. At that time many valuable clergymen were, doubtless, devoting their hearts, their talents, and the best portion of their lives, to the conscientious discharge of their sacred duties in those regions. But they were unavoidably doomed to act without support, without concert, without that mutual *sharpening of countenance* [1], which gives so powerful an edge to the exertions of Christian friends and brethren. They were left with no superior to advise or to encourage them; with no authority to direct and control their labours. The usefulness of each minister was, almost wholly, confined to the narrow circle of his own personal ministrations; and the consequence was, that the efficiency of the clerical body was, in a great measure, dissipated and lost, for want of that principle of concentration which results from the superintendence of a single mind. While a few unconnected individuals were scattered over that vast territory, and labouring for the improve-

[1] Prov. xxvii. 17.

ment of dispersed communities of Christians, the Church, of which they were the only representatives, had scarcely "a local habitation or a name" in India. Its power over the public mind and heart was absolutely nothing. Even among its own professed members, its influences were scarcely felt, and its authority well nigh forgotten; and among the natives, its very existence as a Church was utterly unknown. The beneficial change which has been effected, in all these respects, since the local establishment of episcopacy, is, happily, notorious and undeniable. Numerous and mighty obstacles may yet, it is true, remain to be surmounted. The contemplation, however, of what has already been achieved, must be abundantly sufficient to strengthen our reliance on the Divine protection; and to animate us with the hope that the toils, the anxieties, and the prayers, of this illustrious prelate will not have been *in vain in the Lord. Humanly speaking*, there is one thing, and one thing only, which can defeat his *labours of love*,—the want of generous courage, and devoted zeal, and sustained perseverance, in the country which sent him forth to this vast sphere of exertion.

Such, then, have been the blessed effects of that wisdom and piety which, at last, have planted an Apostolic Church in India; and, such as we have seen, were the masculine firm-

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ness of character, the power of intellect, the maturity of judgment, the elevated self-devotion, which the first Protestant bishop brought to the accomplishment of that holy enterprise. In this cause he counted not his life dear unto him; and, unquestionably, he poured out his soul unto death, for its prosperity and honour. Here then, let us cease from any further attempt either to disclose his virtues, or to draw forth his failings "from their dread abode." His virtues are laid up as a treasure which is become the invaluable and sacred property of the Christian world. His failings, it were almost impious to doubt, will find abundant mercy at the hand of that GOD, whom he served in faith and fear, and *with heart, and soul, and strength.*

It should have been mentioned above, that, in addition to his donation of 400*l.* for the decoration of the chapel of Bishop's College, and the service of communion plate from Mrs. Middleton, the Bishop left a legacy of 500*l.* to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, with the power of selecting five hundred volumes from his own noble collection for the college library.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Contrast of character between Bishop Middleton and Bishop Heber—Evil policy of placing so large a diocese under the charge of a single bishop—Necessity of dividing the See of Calcutta according to the Presidencies—Writings and publications of Bishop Middleton—Character of his Sermons—Mrs. Middleton—Public proceedings of the Church Societies in England consequent on the Bishop's death.

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THE loss of such a man as Bishop Middleton irresistibly invites us to a momentary contemplation of the distinguished prelate who was selected to supply his place. The imagination can scarcely, perhaps, picture a contrast, in some respects, more striking, than that which was exhibited in the characters of Bishop Middleton and his successor. It is, nevertheless, such a contrast as may well exist between two great and good men. Many qualities they had in common with each other. Each was distinguished by rich and various mental accomplishments, by a noble and almost saint-like disregard of mere personal interest, and by an

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entire dedication of himself to the holy cause which called them forth from their country. But, in the general "*form and pressure*" of their minds, they were totally dissimilar. The soul of Heber was essentially poetical. He surveyed with the eye of a poet all the regions both of art and nature,—the achievements of man, and the works and word of God. The power of poetry descended upon his dreams, and visited him in his private meditations and devotions, and often shed a celestial radiance over his ministrations in the sanctuary. In Bishop Middleton the imaginative faculty was far less predominant. His chief endowments were a profound and penetrating sagacity,—a vast strength of purpose,—a robust frame of mind, less fitted to pursue the bright creations of fancy, than to wrestle with severe truth, or to grapple with the stubborn realities of life. The characters of these two men may, perhaps, be said to have borne towards each other a relation somewhat resembling that which painting bears to sculpture. The canvass delights in the glow and richness of vivid colouring, the intricate vicissitudes of light and shadow, and the endless combination of objects and variety of distances. All these the marble rejects. It may be able, indeed, to bear the impress of every passion which can agitate our nature, or of every excellence which can dignify it; but the effect is

always, more or less, accompanied by something of a sober and austere simplicity. It is, perhaps, scarcely too fanciful to surmise that, of those who intimately knew each of these eminent worthies, there might be some, who would so far enter into the spirit of this comparison, as to desiderate a painting of Heber, while they regarded a statue as the more appropriate representation of his great predecessor.

The same contrast which ran through their moral nature, prevailed in their intellectual. The souls of both were thoroughly pervaded by a solemn sense of Christian duty; but this principle was displayed according to the different temperaments of the men. In the one, it often took the form of steady and inflexible resolution; in the other, the aspect of facility and mildness. The one seemed incessantly watchful over himself, lest the pleasure of compliance should betray him into the surrender of something which duty commanded him to maintain: the other appeared fearful lest the responsibilities of public life should make him insensible to the feelings and the wishes of men whose worth entitled them to respect. The one was on his guard against the suggestions of easy and mistaken benevolence. The other was fearful lest official integrity and firmness should *petrify*, at last, into obstinacy and self-will.

Different, however, as these individuals were,

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it would seem to have been providentially appointed that two such men should appear in India, in the order which actually occurred. Without the unbending constancy of Bishop Middleton, it is very doubtful whether the foundations of the Episcopal Church could have been solidly and permanently laid. But when that great work was once accomplished, the same degree of stern energy might not, perhaps, be so absolutely essential for carrying on the superstructure, and applying the decorations, and executing the details of that mighty and glorious design. When Bishop Heber arrived, the most enlightened portion of the Anglo-Indian public had been taught to regard the episcopal establishment with deep respect. The commanding qualities of the first bishop had secured for it the veneration of the community. It is not, therefore, altogether surprising that his successor should feel himself the more at liberty to follow the native impulse of his temper, and to choose the kindlier office of engaging in its behalf their cordial attachment and fidelity. And never surely was any human being more consummately adapted, than that successor, for the office of winning the affections. The singleness of his heart, the simplicity of his manners, the heavenly sweetness of his temper, the passionate devotion of all his faculties to the work of an evangelist,—seemed to bend towards him the

hearts of all the people, as the heart of one man. They who were, at first, surprised at the unostentatious plainness of his demeanor, were soon overpowered by the vast resources and genuine dignity of his mind. The result has been, that in the course of twelve years the labours of these two men have surrounded the Indian Church with reverence and affection, and have associated episcopacy in the public mind with every thing that is admirable in learning and genius, or sublime in piety and virtue.

But it has seemed fit to the unsearchable wisdom of God to remove these, his *good and faithful servants*, from the scene of their labours; the one in the very height of his usefulness, the other before he had well surveyed the field of his exertions: and the dust of two English bishops, we might almost say, two English martyrs, has now mixed itself with the soil of Hindostan. Let us hope that their remains have given a sort of consecration to that vast territory, and marked it out, in the sight of men and angels, as a portion of the Redeemer's inheritance. Reflections and anticipations like these are greatly needed, to support us under the loss of two such men, and under the bitter disappointment inflicted on the Church by the policy, which appointed only a *single* successor to those illustrious prelates. It becomes us, perhaps, to abstain from speculating too deeply on the reasons which rendered the

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State deaf to the intreaties of the Church, and which again consigned to one spiritual director and governor, a field, in all its compass of duty, scarcely too extensive for the labours of an Apostolic college; and which tends to fix on our Protestant institutions the reproach of a languid zeal for the highest interests of mankind. It is scarcely possible, however, to suppress the "*searchings of heart*," and the painful bodings, occasioned by this prodigy of lukewarmness or frugality. We cannot forget that it must reduce any individual who may undertake this overpowering charge to a most appalling alternative. It must either compel him to go forth to his labours, with a resolution to offer up his life in the cause, and probably to bring on a speedy repetition of the manifold and unspeakable mischiefs that must always attend a protracted suspension of the episcopal functions in that enormous diocese; or it must tempt him to the adoption of a maxim, which all overlaboured functionaries may be strongly impelled to call in to their relief; namely, the high-minded aphorism, that where business is too heavy to be properly disposed of, we must satisfy ourselves with getting through it with all practicable ease! It is, of course, quite inconceivable that public men would, consciously and deliberately, incur the guilt of reducing to such an alternative even the most exalted virtue and piety. One is,

therefore, willing to take refuge in the surmise, that the turmoil and confusion of secular and political interests may, sometimes, have the effect of partially suspending the religious sensibilities of statesmen; and of making them, in a degree, unconscious of the evils inflicted on the human race by inattention to their moral and spiritual improvement. This conjecture furnishes, indeed, but a comfortless retreat from painful feelings. It is, however, far less wretched than the belief, that our temporal governors are capable of wilfully trifling with the most precious and important of all the concerns committed to their guardianship.

It must, of course, be in the recollection of every reader, that reflections like these have received a melancholy justification from the death of another exemplary prelate, Bishop James, the successor of Heber in the diocese of Calcutta, who was smitten down almost before the crozier was firm within his grasp, and whose decease imposed on India another long and disastrous suspension of the episcopal authority [1]. That a frequent recurrence of the evil may reasonably

[1] Nearly four years elapsed between the death of Bishop Heber, and the commencement of his episcopal duties by the present bishop, Dr. Turner; and during that interval, with the exception of the very short period of Bishop James's administration, the diocese of India was deprived of episcopal superintendence!

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be expected, under the present system, must appear, from a consideration of the unceasing labour unavoidably incident to the episcopal office in a diocese co-extensive with so enormous a dominion. If, indeed, the Christian population of India were collected within the limits of a moderate territory, it possibly might not be beyond the powers of one man to administer effectually, and without excessive toil, the ecclesiastical government of such a community. But, that an exaggerated estimate has not been formed of the labours, actually occasioned by the dispersion of the Christians over such immense regions, is irresistibly clear from the whole tenor of the foregoing narrative. We have there seen that the life of Bishop Middleton in India, was a life of incessant toil. His exertions were such as must have put to a severe test the firmest constitution and the steadiest spirits, even at an earlier period of life, and under a temperate climate, and favourable circumstances. In a tropical region, no human energies can, for many years together, endure such a course of application. It has sometimes, indeed, been suggested, that the duties of the Indian diocese are assuredly not heavier than those which are attached to the office of Governor-general; and that if the energies of an individual are equal to the task of administering the temporal interests of that vast empire, there is no reason why they

should sink under the labours of its ecclesiastical government. A moment's consideration must shew the fallacy of such an argument; for, in fact, the offices admit of no comparison. The Company's territories in India, it should always be remembered, are divided into three distinct presidencies, the local details of which very rarely demand the care or the control of the Governor-general; his interference being chiefly confined to the adjustment of their relations with the native powers. It should, further, be recollected, that the statesman who governs India, is assisted by the judgment of responsible counsellors, and by the advice of legal authorities; and, besides, that he is relieved from the burden of official drudgery, by a liberal apparatus of secretaries and preparatory boards. The bishop who administers the Church of India, has no such assistance or relief. He is without the aid of a clerical chapter, and even responsible or legal advisers; and he has no bureau at his command to lighten the manual labour of an incessant and very extended correspondence. He is, in short, a solitary, unaided functionary, weighed down at once with cares which demand the highest faculties of his mind, and with toil which exacts the most unsparing sacrifice of his bodily ease: he is, moreover, chained to his post for a period of service which is scarcely ever exacted of the supreme governor of India.

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Besides, it seems to be almost forgotten, that personal visitation and inspection, and a close acquaintance with the clerical body and their several local duties, are absolutely necessary to the effective discharge of the episcopal functions. If, therefore, there is to be but a single prelate for the whole of Hindostan, including the king's colony of Ceylon, an enormous portion, both of his time and strength, must inevitably be consumed in protracted and harassing expeditions both by sea and land. It can scarcely be necessary to dwell, at greater length, on the obvious dissimilarity of these two cases. Their disparity may be conclusively summed up in this single question:—What estimate should we form of the judgment of any individual, who should remind us, that one prime minister is sufficient for the government of the British empire; and should gravely expect us to be satisfied that, therefore, a single bishop might well be able to take charge of every diocese within it?

But the overwhelming toil imposed on the bishop of *all India*, is by no means the only consideration which demands a division of the diocese. It has already been remarked that, for all civil purposes, our Eastern possessions are divided into three presidencies; each having its separate governor and council, and its separate judicial, civil, military, and medical departments; while, in ecclesiastical matters alone, the British

interests are placed under the administration of a single individual. One inevitable consequence of this arrangement has been incidentally adverted to above: it exposes the diocese to perpetual interruptions of the episcopal authority. On the decease of a bishop, the Church must look to England for his successor. Every vacancy, therefore, must be followed by a tedious interval, during the whole of which, the business of the diocese goes on accumulating, to fall with more intolerable weight upon the shoulders of the next prelate. It is no answer to say that, in the absence of the bishop, the ecclesiastical administration may, without inconvenience or confusion, be carried on by the archdeacons. There are various functions which, according to the constitution of the Church, none but a bishop can execute; and the suspension of these, for a period of twelve or eighteen months, is an evil of enormous weight, especially in a diocese of such vast magnitude. Besides, it is perfectly obvious that a government carried on by substitutes or representatives, must always be comparatively deficient in promptitude and efficacy. No merely temporary or delegated authority, whether ecclesiastical or civil, can be exercised with the same vigour as if it were original, or command, in the same degree, the respect and confidence of the public.

But further, if the immense extent of the

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diocese of Calcutta be such as to demand the care of more than a single bishop, the circumstances of India require that the division of that diocese should be made conformable to the separation of the empire into distinct presidencies. The same reason which placed an archdeacon at each of those presidencies, would obviously demand that, in the event of a division, a bishop should be placed at the head of each archdeaconry. Not only are the presidencies distinct in their establishments, but within the limits of each are numerous stations at which military and civil servants of the Company are resident, who may, in justice, expect an adequate provision for the maintenance of the religion in which they were born and nurtured. In each presidency, likewise, is a large, and constantly increasing population of the Indo-European race. These it is neither safe nor right to leave without the amplest facilities for uniting themselves with that religious form and establishment which is intimately connected with the state, and for which they have already manifested a very strong partiality. In many parts of India, also, and more especially in the south, under the presidency of Madras, there are considerable numbers of native Christians, belonging to the Protestant Episcopal Church, and who, from every consideration of prudence and of right, should be provided by the British

government with a supply of regular ministers, and be placed under the paternal care of a British prelate. And by no arrangement can these great and holy objects be so effectually accomplished, as by the establishment of distinct dioceses, co-extensive with the presidencies into which the empire is already divided for the purposes of political administration.

One objection, indeed, there is to the proposed division of the diocese, which has hitherto been produced as absolutely fatal,—it would entail an additional burden on the finances of the Company, which, it is said, are now calling for retrenchment throughout every department of the service. With reference to this consideration, however, it is surely reasonable to ask, whether the needful reduction of superfluities in the various departments of that service, either civil or military, can afford a sufficient reason for omitting to complete a department, which, at present, is manifestly and notoriously imperfect, and inadequate to its high and sacred purposes. The duty of a frugal administration of national resources will not, of course, be questioned for a moment; but it is earnestly to be hoped, that the finances of our eastern empire are very far indeed from a state of such disorder, that the allowance requisite for two additional bishops would prove a ruinous, or even a very inconvenient burden. But there is yet a more urgent

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and solemn consideration. Can any economy be more wise, or more effectual, or more truly entitled to the name, than that which provides, upon a liberal scale, for the highest interests of mankind; which honours and supports that cause to which potentates are indebted for the obedience of their subjects, and empires for their peace, their stability, and their grandeur? Can a Christian government ever lose sight of their obligation to promote the empire of holiness and virtue? And can it be doubted that the full efficacy of our episcopal establishment in the East would be most economically purchased at the additional cost of a few annual thousands? It is, surely, in this department of public expenditure, if in any, that there is a generosity *which scattereth and yet increaseth;* and that there is a parsimony *which withholdeth more than is meet, and yet it tendeth to poverty!*

Under the calamitous repulse, however, which the Church has *hitherto* experienced in her applications for a division of the Indian diocese, we are encouraged to *possess our souls in peace* by one solemn recollection; namely, that the great cause at stake is under the especial protection of Him who is always able to extract good from evil, and to overrule the blindest counsels of man to His own praise and glory. In his good time, we trust, the mighty harvest-field of India will be duly provided with labourers, and the rulers

of this land awakened to a righteous sense of the responsibility imposed on us by our connection with that country. Should they, at last, be roused to a full perception of this obligation, even by a succession of such sacrifices as we have recently deplored, the price, heavy as it might be, could scarcely be too great for the purchase of so blessed a consummation.

To return, however, to Bishop Middleton. It is very greatly to be deplored that, in his last will, dated January 19, 1821, about a year and a half previous to his death, he left a strict order that his sermons, and other writings in manuscript, should be forthwith burnt. Some of them there were, which, if his life had been spared, it was known to have been his intention to revise for the press; but most of them were left by him at his death in a state scarcely, perhaps, fit for publication. Among these we have more especially to lament the loss of his memoir on the present condition of the Syrian Church in Malabar, for which he had collected an ample and various store of precious materials, and which, as we have seen, had been the subject of his long and anxious study. Next to this work, in importance, were his lectures on the Litany; and, in our bitter regret for their loss, we may be allowed to express something like surprise that they, at least, were not preserved from destruction; for they had actually re-

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ceived his last hand since the date of the above peremptory condemnation. It may readily be imagined, that they must have been extremely valuable, composed, as they were, with the design of unfolding to his congregation the inestimable excellencies of that Liturgy, which he himself esteemed next to the works of inspiration. They were, nevertheless, unhappily consigned to the flames, together with the rest; the injunction being considered so positive, and so indiscriminate, that his widow and executrix felt herself left without the liberty of exercising any discretion on the subject.

The performances by which only he can now be known as a writer, are the dissertation on the Greek article, which has already been spoken of; and his printed charges, and occasional sermons[1]; those, chiefly, which were delivered by him in India. Of these, it is probable that none were so attentively and anxiously laboured as the lectures on the Litany; and some of them were inevitably composed in haste, under circumstances which made much research absolutely impracticable, and which, indeed, would have rendered any thing beyond a faithful exposition of the simplest principles, wholly unseasonable, and almost useless. All of them, however, indicate a vigorous and athletic frame of mind, an

[1] Edited by archdeacon Bonney, 1824.

intellect perpetually conversant with Christian theology, and a heart intensely fixed on its effective application to the spiritual interests of man. His style is that of a person who regards every thing with a view to its practical consequences and results. It is but sparingly embellished with imagery or colouring; but it is always luminous, and often bears the impress of a severe, masculine, and powerful eloquence. His compositions are eminently fitted to accomplish many of the highest purposes of Christian ministration. They seize forcibly on the rational faculty: they leave all wilful blindness without excuse: they fix upon the mind that impression, which is always made by masterly knowledge, sagacious judgment, and unfeigned zeal.

It would be scarcely pardonable to dismiss our notice of the Bishop's writings, without presenting to the reader the following short, but eminently beautiful inscription, written by him for the Botanic Garden, and considered by himself as among the happiest of his own efforts in that style of composition :—

Quisquis. Ades.
Si. Locus. Suavitate. Mentem. Permulcet.
Aut. Admonet. Ut. Pie. Sentias. De. Deo.
Habendus. In. Honore. Tibi.
Roxburghius.
Horum. Hortorum. Olim. Præfectus.
Vir. Scientiæ. Botanices. Laude. Florens.
Idemque. Amœnitatum. Agrestium.

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Summus. Artifex.
Conservat. Cinerem. Patria.
Hic. Viget. Ingenium.
Tu. Fave. Et. Perfruere.
B. M. P. C. Superstites. Amici. A.D. MDCCCXXII.

To this is subjoined a hymn, composed by the Bishop, and always sung on New Year's day, by his own desire.

THE HYMN.

As o'er the past my mem'ry strays,
Why heaves the secret sigh?
'Tis that I mourn departed days,
Still unprepared to die.

The world and worldly things beloved
My anxious thoughts employ'd;
And time unhallow'd, unimproved,
Presents a fearful void.

Yet, Holy Father, wild despair
Chase from my lab'ring breast;
Thy grace it is which prompts the pray'r,
That grace can do the rest.

My life's brief remnant all be thine!
And when thy sure decree
Bids me this fleeting breath resign,
O speed my soul to Thee!

Bishop Middleton died without issue, and without any near relatives. Mr. Seth Stephen Ward, of the Accountant General's office, (with

whom, as we have seen, he was in constant correspondence,) and the children of that gentleman, being the only persons, allied to his family, who survived him. Of the situation of the widow of Bishop Middleton after his decease, no feeling heart will be at a loss to form some adequate conception. She found herself in a remote and foreign land, bereft and childless, and thrown almost wholly on her own religious and moral resources; but she was graciously supported under the visitation which made her desolate. At first, she appeared to be almost in danger of sinking under the pressure of the calamity, aggravated as her sufferings were by the anxiety and fatigue of her incessant attendance upon the deceased, herself only gradually recovering at the time from a severe illness. She was, however, enabled to resume her composure, and to transact the business which required her attention, with surprising self-command. In discharging the various and melancholy duties which fell upon her, she experienced invaluable assistance from Mr. Hawtayne, by whom every thing was done, which humanity or friendship could suggest, to lighten the weight of her affliction. She removed to a comparatively small, but respectable and comfortable house, and there remained till the month of November, when she embarked for England.

The limited income of the Bishop of Calcutta,

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when compared with the heavy and unavoidable expenses of his station, the large amount of house-rent, and the repeated claims on his charity from all parts of India, left him but little ability to make an adequate provision for his widow. He had, however, with due regard to her interests, effected an insurance on his life in one of the offices in London, which would have secured some addition to her comforts, on her return to England. Unfortunately, however,—through some mistake, it is believed, in the interpretation of his instructions to his agents,—the necessary payment on the policy had been discontinued, and this source of provision was altogether lost. Mrs. Middleton's income was thus reduced to such means alone as remained from the scanty savings of the Bishop, and from her own family resources. A memorial was, therefore, presented on her behalf, by Bishop Middleton's friends, to the Directors of the East India Company, who consented to grant her a pension of 200*l.* per annum, being as much as it was in their power to give, without a special sanction from the Court of Proprietors.

As soon as the loss, which the Indian Church had suffered, was known in England, it was met by a deep feeling of public and private concern. The religious societies, who had long been in close connection with Bishop Middleton, and who regarded, with unlimited confidence, the wisdom

energy, and talent with which he forwarded their views, held special meetings, at which his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury presided, to consider of the best means by which they might evince their feelings of gratitude for his services, and admiration for his abilities. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, with a view to a more durable expression of their esteem and regret, came to the resolution of erecting a monument to the Bishop's memory, in the cathedral church of St. Paul, the expense to be defrayed by the individual subscriptions of members of the Society. In this resolution the members of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, were, at their own desire, permitted to co-operate. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge also agreed to place the sum of 6,000*l.* at the disposal of the sister Society, for the purpose of endowing five scholarships (besides affording the salary for a Tamul teacher) in the Mission College, Calcutta; such scholarships to be called by the name of 'Bishop Middleton's Scholarships.'

In India, a private subscription was entered into at Calcutta and Bombay, for the purpose of erecting a small monument in the cathedral, in which his remains are deposited.

Testimonies like these are, doubtless, signally honourable to the feelings and the principles of all who have shared in offering them. And yet,

CHAP. XXIX 1822. even they who have been most active in thus honouring the memory of Bishop Middleton will be among the very foremost to allow that, after all, the noblest memorials of his worth have been raised by his own hand. The solid, and, we trust, imperishable foundations of our eastern Episcopal Church, are his work; his zeal for the diffusion of his Saviour's dominion has been embodied in a glorious monument, which may almost be said to have consecrated the banks of the Ganges to the true and living God; and his name will live enshrined in the hearts of numberless generations, who will venerate and bless him as, under Providence, the father of their peace and joy!

CHAPTER XXX.[1]

Provisions on the vacancy of the See—Death of archdeacon Loring—Appointment of Bishop Heber—Provisions for the further efficiency and comfort of the bishop of Calcutta—Increase of chaplains—Decision in the case of archdeacon Barnes and Mr. Davies—Consecration of churches—Licensing of the chaplains and missionaries—New South Wales added to the diocese—Powers given to the archdeacon of Australia—The Bishop's attention to the concerns of the Mission College—District committees formed of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—His statements of the deficiency of clergy—His visit to the southern missions—Testimony in their favour—His death—Appointment of Bishop James—His several episcopal measures and arrangements—His illness and death—Nomination of Dr. Turner as fourth Bishop of Calcutta.

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On the death of Bishop Middleton, archdeacon Loring began to take upon him the episcopal

[1] Subsequently to the compilation of the foregoing narrative, it was suggested to the author that the work would be rendered somewhat more complete by a brief outline of the affairs of the Indian Church, during the interval between the decease of Bishop Middleton and the appointment of the present bishop, Dr. Turner. In compliance with that intimation, this Supplementary Chapter has been added.

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jurisdiction, according to the terms of the letters-patent, which provided that "the archdeacon of Calcutta, during a vacancy of the see, should exercise the episcopal functions, so far as by law he might." Within two months, however, this amiable and excellent man, who had long been the intelligent assistant of Bishop Middleton, fell a sacrifice to that dreadful scourge of British India, the cholera morbus. Under such circumstances, the Governor-general in council was authorised to delegate the functions of the bishop, either to the archdeacon of Madras, or the archdeacon of Bombay, or to any two clergymen resident in India. The Marquess of Hastings preferred the latter mode; and Mr. Corrie and Mr. Parsons were directed to exercise the necessary jurisdiction, until the vacancy in the see should be supplied from England.

By this appointment, the manifold evils of a long vacancy in the episcopal office were most unhappily exemplified. The representatives appointed by the government on this occasion, discovered various objections to the manner in which the clergy had been licensed by Bishop Middleton; and choosing to proceed in conformity with their own views, rather than those of their deceased diocesan, they entirely abandoned that most important department of their duty. They, moreover, omitted to give any decision on a variety of points, which required immediate

attention; and the consequence was that the chief affairs of the diocese were nearly suspended. A multitude of references and papers were left to accumulate; and a formidable pressure of business was prepared for the succeeding prelate [1].

Bishop Middleton, it will be remembered, died in 1822; and it was not till October, 1823, that his successor, Dr. Reginald Heber, reached Calcutta. Previous to his departure from England, an Act of Parliament was passed, making several salutary provisions for the improvement of the bishop's public efficiency and personal comfort. The period of his service in India, as well as that of the archdeacons, was reduced from fifteen years to ten, and the bishop was permitted to enjoy a graduated portion of the pension, in case he should be compelled, by ill-health, to return to Europe at a prior period. It was further enjoined, that a suitable house should be provided, by the East India Company, for the bishop's residence in Calcutta; a fixed allowance was made for his ordinary visitations; and he was relieved from all difficulty in conferring holy orders upon natives of India [2]. No provision, however, was made for securing a similar portion of their allotted pensions to the archdea-

[1] Life of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 153.

[2] See ante, p. 277 of this Volume.

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cons, on their necessary retirement prior to the full period of service; neither was any allowance provided for archidiaconal houses or visitations.

The Court of Directors, before the intelligence of Bishop Middleton's death reached England, in consequence of his reiterated and urgent representations, agreed to increase the number of their chaplains, particularly in the archdeaconries of Calcutta and Bombay: but, notwithstanding these indispensable additions to the numerical strength of the clergy in India, since the establishment of episcopacy in 1814, the want of chaplains has still been most severely felt by every succeeding bishop; and no one can peruse the Journal of Bishop Heber, without lamenting the unavailing applications for resident chaplains from the inhabitants of many of the principal stations, and the frequent occasions on which he found himself called to perform clerical duties, where no clergyman had been ever placed.

It will be thought somewhat extraordinary that, among the references which awaited Bishop Heber's decision, was the question respecting the right of the archdeacons to occupy the pulpit in their respective presidency churches. It will be in the recollection of the reader, that this very question had been raised at Madras in the time of Bishop Middleton; and that,

after the fullest consideration, it was decided by him in favour of the archdeacon. Nevertheless, in spite of this determination, the exercise of that very right by archdeacon Barnes was resisted by the Rev. Henry Davies, one of the chaplains at Bombay. When the case was submitted to Bishop Heber, he confirmed, in the amplest manner, the regulations of his predecessor; and, in pronouncing his judgment, he adopted the same principles which Bishop Middleton himself had laid down, on the previous appeal from Madras, besides enjoining compliance, in the present instance, by various other forcible arguments and considerations [1].

One of the first of Bishop Heber's episcopal acts, was the consecration of the churches at Dum-Dum, and of St. James, in Calcutta. With regard to the guarantee of the inviolability of the churches consecrated, on which subject Bishop Middleton had referred to England, Bishop Heber, by advice, adopted the following course of proceeding. He recited, in a letter to the government, the different churches which had been erected, offering to consecrate them, if government would undertake to maintain them "for the service of God, according to the forms and discipline of the Church of England;" and their assent to these terms was deemed suffi-

[1] Life of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 158.

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cient to warrant his proceeding to the act of consecration [1].

It has been stated above, that Bishop Middleton had licensed every chaplain to a particular station, in order to secure to that station all its ecclesiastical advantages, and to compel the permanent residence of the minister; and that, if the chaplain were afterwards removed, or succeeded to another station, the Bishop thus indorsed his license, "removed with our consent." It has, also, been noticed, that Bishop Heber, in some cases, added the term "district," to that of "station," as being of a less restricted nature; and that, in one or two instances, he also granted licenses to native missionaries, who had been ordained, to preach, and perform the office of minister, within a certain district, and in a particular language [2]. The indorsement, however, of the license, on the removal of a chaplain, was found to be frequently attended with considerable delay and inconvenience, from the vast extent of the diocese: and, accordingly, Bishop Heber, after some difficulty, was induced to abandon the practice of this indorsement, by the consideration, that every essential object might be attained by the notification of all appointments or changes to the bishop, or arch-

[1] Life of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 294.

[2] Abbott's Analysis of the Diocese of Calcutta, p. 60.

deacon, by the local governments. He also conceived that the bishop's license might, without much practical inconvenience, be general in its form; since, of course, it could not be held to justify a minister in encroaching on the station of another, or leaving his own district without the permission of his ordinary [1].

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With respect to the licensing of missionaries of the Church of England, bishop Heber himself writes to archdeacon Twisleton in Ceylon: —"I rejoice to say, that the difficulty felt by my great and good predecessor is now removed, by an opinion given by the King's advocate, that all clergymen of the Church of England, employed in any public ministry within the diocese of Calcutta, are, by the terms of the patent, subject to the bishop's authority. I will, therefore, thank you to take measures that I may forward the necessary licenses, as in the case of chaplains. You may, then, without scruple, admit them to assist the regular chaplains, whenever such assistance may appear to you necessary and expedient; of course, keeping in view the distinction which should, in ordinary cases, be observed between the duties of a chaplain, and of a missionary [2]."

In the year 1824, the Indian diocese was still

[1] Life of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 230.

[2] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 179.

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further extended by the erection of the colony of New South Wales into an archdeaconry, which, for ecclesiastical purposes, was placed by his Majesty's government under the bishop of Calcutta. It is remarkable, that, in many respects, the efficiency of the archdeacon of Australia seems to have been better consulted than in the Indian appointments; and, in order to avoid the difficulties and inconveniences which must necessarily arise from the submission of ecclesiastical matters to a superior at so great a distance, the archdeacon was invested with some new and extraordinary powers. He was directed to make an annual visitation of all the churches throughout the colony, including the settlement of Van Diemen's land, where he was to appoint a rural dean to officiate in his absence; the expenses of such visitations being paid by the Governor-in-council. He was to recommend to the government the several stations at which it might be desirable that chaplains should be placed; and all the inferior officers of the Church establishment, nominated by the officiating ministers, were subject to his approval. All schools, likewise, maintained by his Majesty's revenue, were placed under him as visitor. In point of rank he was placed next after the lieutenant-governor. In questions of a legal nature, arising in the execution of his office, the attorney and solicitor general of the colony were directed to afford

him advice, and, in cases of special importance, to act as his assessors. In the event of the archdeacon being of opinion that the interests of religion required the suspension of any clergyman, he was to signify the case in writing to the governor, who was to act on the responsibility of the archdeacon; but was to transmit a full statement of the case to the diocesan: and if the further suspension, or the permanent removal of any such clergyman should be ultimately directed by the bishop, the governor was, in that case, to act in conformity with such decision. The letter from Earl Bathurst, then colonial secretary, to Sir Thomas Brisbane, will be found in the Appendix. It forms a somewhat curious document in the history of the episcopal establishments of our colonies; since it invests the archdeacon of Australia with some powers, which exceed those conferred on the bishop of India. These powers, however, it must be perceived, were by no means greater than were required to give to the archdeacon becoming authority and weight, in a dependency so remote from the seat of episcopal jurisdiction: and, after all, the settlement must, practically, be left destitute of the rite of confirmation, the consecration of churches, and all the acts and offices peculiar to the episcopal function, so long as it remains under the jurisdiction of a bishop, whose distance renders a visitation of this part of his diocese next to impossible.

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On Bishop Heber's landing in Bengal, he, of course, assumed the office of president of the diocesan committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The native schools, and the various other branches of the Society's labours, engaged, in common with the other religious societies, much of his time and exertion; and the interests of their missions powerfully engrossed his attention during his last visitation of the southern provinces of the continent of India.

The concerns of Bishop's Mission College, which had lain so close to the heart of his predecessor, could not fail to attract the notice of Bishop Heber. Immediately after his arrival in India he undertook the management of the college, as visitor, and assumed the power of inspecting its internal arrangements. The first missionaries whom the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent out, Messrs. Morton and Christian, arrived in Calcutta soon after the Bishop. It was not till January, 1824, that the complete state of the college apartments and offices enabled the Principal to take up his residence within its walls [1].

[1] It is stated in the Life of Bishop Heber, (vol. ii. p. 171), that "since the death of its founder, the college building had, from various causes, especially from the want of money, been much retarded; but under his (Bishop Heber's) inspection,

In the following month the Society's third missionary, Mr. Tweddle, arrived in Calcutta. Nothing now remained to prevent the admission of students; and on March 9, 1824, two were admitted by the bishop from the archdeaconry of Calcutta to the Incorporated Society's theological scholar- CHAP. XXX.

and with the assistance of the annual liberal grant from the Church Missionary Society, its progress was rapid." This statement must have originated in error. Bishop Heber himself writes thus to the Society, June 23, 1824: "To account for the slow progress which had been made, it would perhaps be sufficient to mention, that, since undertaking the college, Captain Hutchinson had been employed by government in several other public buildings, which inevitably prevented his giving to this establishment so much attention as had been expected from him. But, in truth, every work of the kind in India is, and must be, tedious, to a degree which, in Europe, may be hardly credible." As to the want of money, the greater part of the proceeds of the king's letter yet remained in the hands of the Incorporated Society; *and the bishop was invested, by them, with full authority to draw, at once, upon their treasurer for his necessary supplies.* It was not until he had left Calcutta for the upper provinces, that his first report, on the state of the college, was despatched to the Society in London; and as soon as they learned, which they did with some surprise, that it had been thought necessary to resort to *other funds* for the purposes of the building, directions were despatched by them for the immediate restoration of whatever had been thus diverted from those funds. The bishop's attention was, at the same time, recalled to his unrestricted *credit* with the Society, for the purposes of the college; and to that source of supply he was requested *directly* to resort in future.

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ships. In April, a third student, not on the foundation, was admitted, whose charges were defrayed by the Church Missionary Society; and in May, a fourth was nominated by the bishop from the archdeaconry of Madras, as one of Bishop Middleton's scholars, on the foundation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. A few months after, the college printer arrived from London for the purpose of conducting that very important department of its labours. The same vessel brought the elegant present of communion plate from Mrs. Middleton for the chapel, and an excellent collection of books for the library, from the Incorporated Society, to the amount of about 1000*l.*

The second and third professors[1], Messrs. Holmes and Craven, accompanied by Mr. Demelho, another missionary, arrived at the latter end of 1825; and on the 1st January, 1827, the regular inmates of the college were,—the three professors, with their families, two of the missionaries, whom the statutes required to remain till sufficiently prepared by the knowledge of the languages, and eleven students; one of whom was the Armenian deacon, who had been left under the Bishop's charge by his uncle, the suffragan bishop of Jerusalem.

[1] Some domestic circumstances, of a distressing nature, had occasioned the return of Mr. Alt to England, in July, 1823.

The land originally granted by government for this institution, being found too small to admit of the necessary improvements, Bishop Heber, in 1825, obtained an additional grant of about sixty acres of waste ground, immediately adjoining its western extremity. And, at the present time, two additional ranges of buildings, in the same style of architecture with the original wings, are in progress, by the immediate direction of the Society, for the accommodation of an increased number of students, in furtherance of Bishop Heber's views.

On a full investigation of the necessities of the college, the Bishop resolved to adopt a plan for their relief, suggested by archdeacon Barnes: and, accordingly, soon after his arrival in Bombay, he preached in the presidency church on behalf of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and formed the first district committee of that Society in India. The meeting was attended by the governor, the judges, the members of council, and all the chief authorities in Bombay. The result of this measure afforded a most gratifying evidence of the extent to which the cause of Christianity had gained on the public feeling, and of the conviction generally entertained respecting the various and signal advantages promised by the foundation of Bishop's College. The subscriptions and donations at this meeting, to which were

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subsequently added considerable sums from the out-stations, amounted to nearly eighteen hundred pounds; the whole of which it was determined to remit to the college, in consideration of its unfinished state, and of the heavy expenses unavoidably incidental to a new establishment [1].

Similar committees were subsequently formed by the bishop at Ceylon and Calcutta, and letters were addressed by him to all persons of rank and influence, requesting their assistance in forwarding his views; and from almost every quarter he had the gratification of receiving liberal subscriptions, and promises of future aid and support. Among the subscribers, appeared the name of Baboo Muthoonaath Mullich, a Hindoo gentleman of great respectability, who, after visiting the college, begged to give 400 Sicca rupees (50*l.*) annually to its support [2].

The management of the native schools in Calcutta, under the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, were placed in close connection with the missionary institution of the Incorporated Society; and as soon as the district committee was formed at Madras, in 1826, the whole of the former Society's missions in the south of India were tranferred to the latter Society, that they might be more fully in union with the

[1] Life of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 312.

[2] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 343.

Mission College, and thus confirm the hope, with which its projector delighted to contemplate it, of "combining and consolidating, so far as may be, into one system, and directing into the same course of sentiment and action, the endeavours which are made to advance the Christian cause in India [1]."

The peculiar difficulties incident to the exercise of official examination into the conduct of the clergy in India, which had been so strongly felt by his predecessor, were experienced, in their full weight and measure, by Bishop Heber. On one occasion, more especially, his want of legal assistance and advice almost compelled him to a more lenient course of proceeding than he would otherwise have adopted, and one which he, doubtless, must have felt to be very inadequate to the grave nature of the case. We have already seen the embarrassment and opposition which Bishop Middleton had to encounter in the establishment of his consistorial court; and the forms and details of that tribunal were far too imperfectly understood to make it an effective instrument of ecclesiastical discipline in the hands of his successor [2].

[1] Bishop Middleton's Advent Sermon.

[2] Life of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 335.

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It would be quite superfluous to dwell at length on the transactions of Bishop Heber's episcopate, and on the various interesting details of his visitation journeys; all of which are now fully and distinctly before the public. It may not, however, be improper to introduce here the following important notices from his correspondence. From the provinces of Bengal he writes, that, "there are, on the whole, more native Christians than he calculated on finding;—but," he adds, "if the number of native Christians is not great, that of European Christians, even independent of the army, is far greater than he expected; that the anxiety for more chaplains is exceedingly painful to witness: their paucity is really most grievous; many very important stations are at this moment as effectually cut off from preaching and the sacraments, as if they were in the centre of China[1]." In addition to these expressions, we may appeal to the language of his charge to the clergy, in which he adverts to the same painful subject, and which is too remarkable to be altogether omitted here. After expressing his gratitude for some measures calculated to give increased effect to their ministerial labours, he is induced to mention the very great deficiency, in numerical strength, of the

[1] Life of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 255, and 193.

clergy on the Indian establishment. "Of twenty-eight chaplains assigned by the Honourable Company to the presidency of Fort William, fifteen only are now on their posts and effective. Five are, from ill health and other unavoidable causes, at present absent on furlough; while, of the remaining eight appointments, no fewer than seven are represented as vacant, the clergyman who fills the eighth only being reported on his voyage from England. CHAP. XXX.

"The consequence has been, that even in Calcutta and its vicinity, some churches must have been shut up, but for the occasional help of clergymen and missionaries, not in the Company's service; that at Cawnpoor a single labourer is sinking under the duty of a military cantonment, about five miles in length, containing two places of worship, two burial-grounds, two distinct establishments of barracks, schools, and hospitals, and for which the wisdom of government had designated two resident ministers; while in the other Mofussil provinces, some of the most important stations are addressing to me, almost daily, their earnest, and, unhappily, their unavailing applications, for that comfort and instruction, which, in our own country, is accessible to all.

"This is a state of things, beyond a doubt, sufficienly lamentable. It presents the revolting

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spectacle of a nation almost without a priesthood to the Romanists who dwell among us, and to the surrounding heathen. It has a tendency to increase itself and its own evils, by oppressing and overpowering the strength of those labourers who still continue in the vineyard. And it excludes, in the worst and most effectual manner, from the teaching and ordinances of our religion, the daily increasing multitude of our countrymen and their descendants, of whom by far the greater part are still ardently attached to the faith and worship of their fathers[1]."

It is but just to notice in this place, that the Court of Directors have so far attended to these appeals, as to make a further addition to the number of their chaplains in India; but, unhappily, the frequent and necessary absences of the clergy do not permit above three-fourths of their nominal list to be effective and resident in the country. The following is a tabular view of the number of chaplains, at the present time, 1830, together with the number of churches in use and in the course of building, as they occur under each archdeaconry, which is co-extensive with each presidency:—

[1] Bishop Heber's Charge, p. 4.

	Chaplains.	Churches in use.	Churches building.
Calcutta	38	12[1]	4
Madras	23	10	1
Bombay	15	8	1
	[2]76	30	6

In the beginning of 1826, Bishop Heber visited Madras, and from thence proceeded to inspect the missions of the Christian Knowledge Society, which, as we have seen, had engaged so much of the anxious attention of Bishop Middleton. How deeply and powerfully his Christian sympathies, and pastoral feelings, were excited by all which he there witnessed, is now, happily, well known, and indelibly recorded. He more than once observed, that these scenes afforded no ground for the imputation of exaggerated statements, and hopes extravagantly sanguine; that, on the contrary, the fault, if any thing, was that public report had done but scanty justice to these blessed labours of benevolence and piety; and the contemplation of the result drew from him the memorable exclamation that, "*there* lay the strength of the Christian cause in India; and that, grievous and heavy would

[1] In 1814, it is believed, the number of chaplains were about 40, and the churches did not exceed 10.

[2] Including the cathedral, and the chapel at Bishop's College, and the church at Penang.

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be the sin, if England, and the agents of her bounty, should fail to nourish and protect the churches which had thus been founded" in the midst of a moral wilderness [1].

It need not here be told, that, from these truly Christian and paternal labours, the second Indian bishop was suddenly removed to his rest and his reward; and that, thus, the see of Calcutta was again, most calamitously, deprived of the effective superintendence of its head. How just and honourable an estimate was then formed by the Indian public of the advantages and blessings of such superintendence, the resolutions passed, on the death of Bishop Heber, at the several presidencies, most amply testify. Scarcely a dozen years before, the attempt to elevate and enlighten our Christian fellow-subjects was deprecated, by fear and prejudice, as an enterprise pregnant with all the evils of a frightful revolution. These apprehensions had now passed away; and men of all classes, while honouring by their tribute of affectionate regard the memory of the departed bishop, evinced, by their munificent support of the "Mission College," their love of the English Church, and their anxiety to make it, by God's blessing, an instrument for enlarging the general Church of Christ, among the inhabitants of our vast possessions in the East.

[1] Life of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 431.

Dr. John Thomas James, who was nominated the third bishop of Calcutta, left England in July, 1827, and landed in Bengal in January, 1828; the see having been thus unavoidably exposed to the absence of episcopal control and influence *for no less a period than twenty-one months*. The colony of the Cape of Good Hope never having hitherto enjoyed the benefit of any episcopal visitation, which was felt to be much wanted, Lord Viscount Goderich, the secretary for the colonies, thought it advisable that Bishop James should be charged with a special commission from the crown to commence his episcopal functions at that place. From the time that this colony was taken from the Dutch, the English residents, though yearly increasing, were accustomed to solicit the use of the Dutch reformed church for Divine service, having no building of their own. One principal object of Bishop James's visit was to make known a grant from the crown of a piece of land, together with half the sum necessary for building the church, provided the inhabitants would furnish the other half. The subscriptions were very liberal both in money and in kind; and the bishop consecrated the land, as also a burying-ground[1]. Having arranged some other matters committed to his charge, he proceeded to his ultimate destination.

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[1] Memoir of Bishop James, p. 27.

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Unhappily the climate of India took a fatal hold on the Bishop's constitution almost immediately after his landing in Bengal. He, nevertheless, grappled zealously and vigorously, with the accumulation of business which awaited him, and soon made arrangements for effecting some measures which had been recommended to him previously to his departure from England. He assigned parochial districts, and a definite sphere of duty, to the several clergy in Calcutta, and made enquiries for the purpose of effecting the same division at Madras and Bombay. He gave special commissions to the archdeacons of Madras, Bombay, and Ceylon, respectively authorising them to make, in his absence, the necessary endorsement on the licenses of the chaplains. He obtained the sanction of government for granting marriage-licenses as in England, and appointed surrogates in certain districts; and, with the approbation of archbishop Sutton, he empowered the chaplains, in certain cases, and in the hot season only, to shorten the morning service of the liturgy; no unauthorised curtailment, such as had been not unusual before, being in future permitted [1].

In a letter addressed by Bishop James [2] to the archbishop of Canterbury, he states that he had ordered "quarterly returns of all marriages, bap-

[1] Memoir of Bishop James, p. 125. [2] Ibid. p. 126.

tisms, and burials, whether by clerical administration or otherwise, to be received at the registrar's office of the archdeaconry of Calcutta." The circumstances are these: Bishop Middleton, as soon as he had fixed registrars, with a salary from government, at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, directed his clergy, as noticed in his second charge, to make "punctual half-yearly returns of marriages, baptisms, and burials, to the registrar of the archdeaconry;" and these returns, after being copied and certified, were regularly transmitted by the archdeacon, through the government, to the India House in London. But besides the ministrations of the chaplains, burials, marriages, and even baptisms, were continually performed both by civil and military persons in the absence of the clergy. For these irregularities the bishop, of course, could not hold himself responsible; neither did he feel it right to give them his official sanction, although they might be dictated by an undeniable necessity. The returns of such irregular ministrations were accordingly transmitted as before, to the secretary of government. By the continuance of this arrangement, some inconvenience was, undoubtedly, occasioned; to obviate which, Bishop James, in compliance with the wishes of the Governor-general in council, consented to issue the order adverted to in his communication to the archbishop.

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On Ascension Day, May 15, Bishop James consecrated the chapel and burial-ground of Bishop's College; a ceremony which had been expected with much interest by the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta. The sermon was preached by Principal Mill, on whom the archbishop had conferred the degree of Doctor in Divinity. Immediately after, a meeting was held of the College Council, and the plans finally arranged for erecting two buildings on the southern side, similar to the present wings, and so placed as to form a second court, fronting the river, like the present one. These buildings are calculated to afford accommodation for forty additional students. The expense of erecting them, it was expected, would be nearly met by the votes of credit which the bishop had at his disposal for this purpose; one of 5,000*l*, from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and one of 3,000*l*. from the Church Missionary Society, a certain number of whose students were, in consequence, to become admissible at the college [1].

In the course of the month of June, Bishop James held in Calcutta an ordination, a confirmation, and the visitation of the clergy. He then proceeded with his family up the river, on a tour to the northward; but the rapid progress of disease speedily arrested him; he was compelled

[1] Memoir of Bishop James, p. 101.

to return, and to embark hastily on board a vessel proceeding immediately to sea. Here he determined to tender the resignation of his bishopric, after a certain date [1], and to return to England. But within ten days from his leaving the Ganges, he sunk under his disorder, and again rendered the see of India vacant by the death of its bishop, for the third time within fourteen years. A fourth prelate, Dr. J. M. Turner, has now gone forth, again to undertake, single-handed, this most arduous of episcopal dignities. But surely the time is come, when the voice of humanity, as well as of duty, shall be heard; and the overburthening toil and responsibility of this immense diocese be apportioned conformably to its separate political divisions.

[1] Memoir of Bishop James, p. 169.

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No. I.

THE following is the inscription on the monument, erected to the memory of Swartz, by the Rajah of Tanjore :—

To the Memory of the
REVEREND CHRISTIAN FREDERIC SWARTZ,
Born at Sonnenburg of Neumark, in the kingdom of Prussia,
the 26th of October, 1726,
and died at Tanjore, the 13th of February, 1798,
in the 72d year of his age.
Devoted from his early manhood to the office of
Missionary in the East,
the similarity of his situation to that of
the first Preachers of the Gospel,
produced in him a peculiar resemblance to
the simple sanctity of the
Apostolic Character.
His natural vivacity won the affection,
as his unspotted probity and purity of life
alike commanded the

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reverence of the
Christian, Mahomedan, and Hindu;
for Sovereign Princes, Hindu and Mahomedan,
selected this humble Pastor
as the medium of political negociation with
The British Government;
and the very marble that here records his virtues
was raised by
the liberal affection and esteem of the
Raja of Tanjore,
Maha Raja Serfojee.

No. II.

No. II. On Friday, December 15th, 1820, the foundation-stone of Bishop's College was laid by Bishop Middleton, amidst a great concourse of persons, including many of the first distinction, who were invited to witness this interesting solemnity. The following were the prayers used, and the proceedings which took place on the occasion:—

"Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, we thy humble servants, before we enter upon the work, which we are now assembled to take in hand, implore thy grace and blessing. We know that the designs of man avail not to thy glory, unless they are accepted for the sake of thy Son, and are aided by thy Holy Spirit. The offerings of the rich and the counsels of the prudent are alike unprofitable, if Thou, in whose hands are the

issues of all things, withholdest the brightness of thy presence. Vouchsafe then, O Lord, to look down from heaven, in the abundance of thy mercy, on our hearty desires to advance the kingdom of thy Son. Behold us here surrounded by millions of our fellow men, who know not the name of Him, by whom alone they can be saved, having their understandings darkened, and being sunk into sin and sensuality. Moved with compassion at this their state, and desiring to impart to them the blessed knowledge and saving faith, which Thou hast mercifully revealed to ourselves, we ask thy favour to an institution, adapted, as we believe, under thy gracious Providence, to the diffusion of truth and of consolation in a Saviour. In thy goodness, then, prosper this our undertaking, that so it may redound to thy glory and to the salvation of souls. Vouchsafe to all, who shall belong to this seminary, thy especial guidance and blessing. Let those who shall govern it be ever mindful of the solemn trust committed to them, and labour to maintain within its walls sound discipline and Christian holiness. Let those, who shall be instructors, especially direct the minds of youth to the objects of their sacred calling. Let the students grow up in grace, and become daily more and more disposed to renounce all secular allurements in the hope of being accepted instruments in advancing the kingdom of thy Son. Let its learned men be mighty in the Scriptures, and so skilled in languages, that they may faithfully and intelligibly propound thy Holy Word. Let its missionaries go forth in meekness, in patience, and in love unfeigned, as faithful apostles of Jesus Christ: and may all, who shall in any way be admitted to its benefits, be actuated by unity of spirit, and speak the same thing: let no schisms, or heresies, or divisions, defeat

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the end of their calling, or give occasion to the enemies of Christ to blaspheme: but let primitive truth and apostolical order and unwearied labours of love, be evidences that Thou art with them, and that thy Spirit has deigned to rest upon the spot from which they were sent. O Lord, we pray thee, accept this place unto thyself: let it be a school of pastors and teachers, for the work of the ministry and the edifying of the body of Christ; increasing more and more, until this land of darkness be illumined in all its recesses with the light of the everlasting Gospel, and the Gentiles, sitting down together in the kingdom of their common Redeemer, shall glorify God for his mercy. Hear us, we beseech Thee, for the sake of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ." *Amen.*

"O Lord, who alone puttest it into the hearts of sinful men to seek thy glory, we thank Thee that Thou hast been pleased to stir up in our Church and nation that zeal for the honour of thy name, of which this institution will be, as we trust, among the blessed fruits. Our fathers saw not in *their* day these manifestations of thy kingdom. More especially we bless Thee for all the labours of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; and particularly for the extension of their charitable designs to this quarter of the globe. We thank thee that it hath pleased our most gracious sovereign to authorise the collection of the alms of the pious throughout our native country, in aid of a desire to diffuse the light of the Gospel through those parts of the continent and islands of Asia, which are subject to British authority. We acknowledge it to have been of thy goodness, that other religious societies and public bodies have munificently contributed

to the furtherance of this Christian enterprise. We recount with gratitude, that the supreme government of British India has, on behalf of the Honourable East India Company, and for the purposes of this institution, granted and assigned this spot, well adapted to the cultivation of sacred studies and to holy retirement. And we forget not to praise Thee for every manifestation of good will to this design, whether it be from the rich and powerful, or from those who can only pray for its prosperity. Suffer not, O Lord, this zeal to abate, if, as we trust, it be of Thee, and has been kindled by thy Holy Spirit: that when we, who behold the beginning of this work, shall be gathered to our fathers, they, who shall come after us, may gladly support and extend it. Raise up to this house, we humbly beseech Thee, a never-failing succession of benefactors, who shall be animated with the spirit and views of its founders; and whose names may be perpetuated through all generations as of blessed memory, and their good deeds be accepted at the throne of grace through the sole merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*"

"O Lord Almighty, who has promised to be evermore with thy Church, militant here on earth, we commend to thy especial guidance and protection that apostolical branch of it of which we are members, and which is now established in this country. And herein we pray for our most gracious sovereign Lord King George, and the whole of the royal family; for the ministers and dispensers of thy word and sacraments, wherever dispersed, and for all congregations committed to their charge. More particularly, as we are in duty bound, we ask thy blessing on the Honourable the East India

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Company, and on the government of this great empire; on the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, the members of the Supreme Council, and on all who act in authority under them; on the judges of the Supreme Court; on the magistracy, and on all ranks and orders of the people; grant that in their respective stations they may be influenced by an unceasing regard for the improvement and happiness of the less favoured children of the same Creator; and so dispose their hearts, that the renown and dominion in these eastern regions, to which thou hast wonderfully exalted our nation, may be found to have been among the counsels of thy providence for the diffusion of thy saving and eternal truth. And suffer not, O Lord, this end to be retarded by any habitual violations of thy Gospel, among those who profess and call themselves Christians; but teach us all to feel, that we are required to be examples to the unbelievers in purity, in piety, and in charity. Furthermore, we ask, that thy choicest graces may be vouchsafed to those who are called and sent to bear the tidings of salvation to the Gentiles. Endue them, O Lord, with that power of thy word, with that holiness of life, and singleness of heart, and freedom from the distraction of secular and party views, which are the endowments of the true missionary, and which alone can call down thy blessing on his endeavours. Increase the number of those, who in this spirit are ready to devote themselves as apostles of thy blessed Son; and may the house which we now build, be the fruitful parent of those, who having converted many to righteousness, shall shine as the stars for ever. Lastly, we commend to thy Holy Spirit ourselves, who are here assembled: in this, and in every work of charity, may we find our hearts more deeply and surely engaged in thy service, and more

indifferent to the perishable concerns of the world. Let every day bring us nearer unto Thee: let a more fervent love of Thee, a more profound adoration of thy greatness, and a warmer zeal for thy glory be the encouragement and reward of our imperfect endeavours to exalt thy name: nor let us forget that, a little while, and all which shall remain of our earthly career, shall be the fruits of our faith in Christ, and those works which follow us. These prayers we offer unto thee through the sole mediation and merits of Jesus Christ, in whose blessed name and words we sum up our petitions:—

Our Father, &c.

Then the following inscription was read from a brass plate:—

Individuæ. Et. Benedictæ. Trinitati. Gloria.
Collegii. Missionarii.
Societatis. De. Propagando. Apud. Exteros.
Evangelio.
Episcopalis. Autem. Nuncupandi.
Primum. Lapidem. Posuit.
THOMAS. FANSHAW. EPISCOPUS. CALCUTTENSIS.
Precibus. Adjuvante. Archidiacono. Cæteroque. Clero.
Respondente. Et. Favente. Corona.
Die. XV. Decembris.
Anno. Salutis. MDCCCXX.
Britanniarum. Regis. Georgii. IV. Primo.
Princeps. Ille. Augustissimus.
Quum. Regentis. Munere. Fungeretur.
Literas. Societati. Benigne. Concessit.
Quibus. Piorum. Eleemosynas.
Per. Angliam. Universam. Petere. Liceret.
Hos. in. Usus. Erogandas.
In. Eosdem. Vir. Nobilissimus.

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Franciscus. Marchio. De. Hastings.
Rebus. Indicis. Feliciter. Præpositus.
Agri. Sexaginta. Bigas. Bengalenses.
Ad. Ripam. Gangetis. Prope. Calcuttam.
Nomine. Cœtus. Honorabilis. Mercatorum.
Anglicorum.
Chartulis. Assignavit.
Societas. Vero. De. Promovenda. Doctrina.
Christiana.
Particeps. Consilii. Facta.
Grandem. Est. Largita. Pecuniam.
Illa. Itidem. Missionaria.
Cui. Nomen. Ab. Ecclesia. Ductum.
Ne. Tali. Tantoque. Deesset. Incepto.
Par. Munus. Ultro. Detulit.
Christi. Non. Sine. Numine.
Læta. Hæc. Fuisse. Primordia.
Credant. Agnoscant. Posteri.
Amen.

Then the plate was deposited, and the stone was laid, the Bishop pronouncing :—

In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, one God blessed for ever, I lay this, the foundation stone of the Episcopal Mission College of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to be commonly called and known as " Bishop's College, near Calcutta."

O Father Almighty, through whose aid we have now commenced this work of charity, we bless Thee that we have lived to this day; O prosper the work to its conclusion; and grant that so many of us as thy providence shall preserve to witness its solemn dedication, may join together in heart and in spirit in praising thy

name, and in adoring thy mercy, and in supplicating thy favour to this house evermore; through Jesus Christ our Lord. APPENDIX. No. II.

The peace of God, &c. &c.

No. III.

Portion of a Letter, forming part of a volume intended for publication, and addressed to Rammohun Roy, by T. F. Middleton, Lord Bishop of Calcutta. No. III.

SIR,

THE point suggested by the perusal of your tracts to my earliest consideration is, what is the authority of the whole volume, which Christians receive as the word of God, or as Divine revelation; but this is connected with the previous question, whether any revelation was to be expected. The latter point, supposing it to be matter of doubt, should, of course, be first attended to; for if revelation be really impossible, it were useless to examine the character and pretensions of that which we profess to have received; and even a high degree of improbability would impose the necessity of the strongest proof, that such alleged revelation came from God. Notwithstanding this arrangement, it may be convenient to state in what way the main enquiry arises out of your avowed opinions.

With respect, then, to the extent, in which you receive the Christian Scriptures, it is possible, that since the publication of your first tract you may have seen cause to go further than you ventured to do at

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the outset; though of this I find not any unequivocal declaration. In the introduction of that tract, in a passage already cited, you speak of some, who require from persons claiming to be Christians "only an adherence to the doctrines of Christ as taught by himself, without insisting on an implicit confidence in those of the apostles;" and you make this distinction your own, by adopting the opinion of the "liability of the apostles to mistake and error, like other men, except when speaking from inspiration," and subjoin what you consider as instances in a note. It is obvious, that such an exception, so undefined, would make the whole volume of the New Testament, except when Christ is represented as the speaker, wholly useless for the proof of either precepts or doctrines. The "Precepts of Jesus," indeed, understood as sayings actually delivered by Christ, could be drawn only from the four Evangelists; but in the discussions into which that publication has led you, and which are so multifarious as to involve almost every part of Scripture, I observe, that though you somewhat relax in your mistrust of the Acts and the Epistles, they make no considerable figure: you cite them in a very few instances to show that your opinions have even their countenance, and in one place you observe[1], that the authority of the apostles having been brought against you, you think yourself justified in citing two texts from the Epistles, (1 Cor. xv. 24—28, and Col. i. 15), although you "should be contented to deduce your arguments from the direct authority of Jesus himself."

It is true, that in your appendix to your Second Appeal, No. 2, "On the references made to the Old

[1] Second Appeal, p. 16.

Testament in support of the Deity of Jesus," you examine such citations as you find them compared with passages, not only of the Gospels, but of the Epistles: still, the general impression will be, especially when your notion of the fallibility of the apostles is recollected, that you do not even yet receive with equal confidence all the books of Scripture; and your native readers may be led to conclude, that the Acts and the Epistles, though holy books, are rather to be considered in the light of those Poorans and Tuntras, which unfortunately have not had any respectable commentator, and are, therefore, not admissible in evidence of the genuine Brahminical doctrines [1]. In fact, I do not discover in your tracts any thing like a reason for your receiving any part of the Christian Scriptures, unless it be your high and just admiration of the precepts of Christ; and even in this you seem not to consider, that the sayings of Christ rest upon the authority of the reporters; and the authority of St. Luke, from whose Gospel three-eighths of the precepts are taken, must be as good for the Acts of the Apostles as it is for the Gospel called by his name; for of both he was the author, with this difference, that what he relates of our Saviour he could know only from others; while of much which he tells of the apostles he was an eye-witness. I was, indeed, surprised to observe, that in addressing your countrymen, (your avowed object in your first tract) you did not state the grounds on which you offered them religious instruction drawn from such a source, and called upon them to receive what must be revolting to their prejudices. It seems as if you had trusted to their intuitive

[1] Brahminical Magazine, No. II. p. 5.

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perception of truth, or, in default of that, to their habit of dispensing with inquiry; or it may be, that you yourself have no distinct conception, why we receive the Christian Scriptures, otherwise than as ancient books, which have come down to us by tradition. I conceive it, therefore, to be proper, that I should lay before you something of the genuineness and authenticity of our sacred writings; indeed, this will be indispensable, as I mean to quote them indiscriminately in the course of the following discussions; and to this subject I purpose to devote the whole of my next letter.

The subject of my present address will be the possibility and antecedent probability of revelation; you do not, indeed, call either of these into question: what I have already adduced in this letter exonerates you from all such suspicion. Notwithstanding this avowal, the consideration of this subject will be seen to fall within the plan of my present undertaking. At the same time, I should observe, that though you speak of a Divine revelation as something which really exists, you frequently drop expressions, which indicate, that you should distrust an alleged revelation, which could not be made to quadrate with your preconceived opinions. You have a very remarkable passage to this effect in the introduction already quoted; "to those, who are not biassed by prejudice, and who are *by the grace of God* open to conviction, a simple enumeration and statement of the respective tenets of different sects may be a sufficient guide to direct their inquiries, in ascertaining which of them is the most consistent with the *sacred traditions*, and most *acceptable* to *common sense*." By the "sacred traditions" you probably mean the Christian revelation, though as used by an advocate of the Vedant, the term is somewhat equivocal;

but I am surprised at one of the effects, which you ascribe to Divine grace; that a mind enlightened by it, and thus "open to conviction," will be enabled to ascertain, what is "most acceptable to common sense." Surely, Sir, this would be strange theology in any school; common sense, it seems, is so impotent and capricious and miserable a thing, that without Divine grace, it knows not even what it will accept; and yet its acceptance of the tenets proposed to it is indispensable to give them the validity of truth; that they are "inconsistent with the sacred traditions" is not in itself enough. This is not to deny the possibility of revelation: but I much fear, that with your preconceived opinions of what nature a revelation should be, and to what object it should be directed, it might as well have been impossible, and common sense left to itself. There are many hints interspersed through your tracts which are of a similar tendency.

It is not, however, in reference to such passages that I proceed to the subject of this letter. You inform the public, and I hear it with concern, that you are acquainted "with several *Europeans* and Asiatics, who doubt the possibility of revelation[1]." With respect to the former I had no knowledge or suspicion of the fact; but knowing it, as I now do, on your authority, I conceive, that I ought not, in a work directed to a review of your writings, to pass over it in silence; it deeply affects the well-being of some, who are called by the Christian name; and the notion may gain strength by notoriety, even though it has not your sanction, if it pass unquestioned.

Your "European and Asiatic" friends seem to have

[1] First Appeal, p. 29.

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carried their Deism, or whatever it may be called, even further than the enemies of revelation have usually done in England; of whom few, I believe, have pretended to doubt the *possibility* of revelation, whatever pains they may have taken to throw discredit on the Christian Scriptures. Morgan, a writer of that school, and of considerable celebrity, when it was in its highest vogue, admits, "that God may, if he think fit, communicate his will by immediate inspiration, or supernatural illumination; yea, and that, which he thus communicates, may come with evidence equal to a mathematical demonstration[1]." At the same time, he intimates his belief, that no such revelation can be proved to have been given. Chubb, another of the same fraternity, says, "When men are sunk into gross ignorance and error, and are greatly vitiated in their affections and actions, God may, for any reason I can see to the contrary, kindly interfere by a special application of his power and providence, and reveal to man such useful truths, as otherwise they might be ignorant of, or might not attend to; and also lay before them such rules of life, as they ought to walk by, and likewise press their obedience with proper motives, and thereby lead them to repentance and reformation[2]." And Lord Bolingbroke observes, that "an extraordinary action of God on the human mind, which the word inspiration is used to denote, is not more inconceivable than the ordinary action of mind on body, or of body on mind; and that it is impertinent to deny the existence of any phenomenon, merely because we cannot account for it; though, as he adds with equal propriety,

[1] Leland's View of Deistical Writers, I. p. 147.
[2] Ibid. I. p. 22.

"it would be silly to assume inspiration to be true, because God can act mysteriously, that is, in a way unknown to us, on his creature man[1]." He even acknowledges, that "when a revelation hath all the authenticity of human testimony, when it appears consistent it all its parts, and when it contains nothing inconsistent with any real knowledge we have of the Supreme all-perfect Being and of natural religion, such a revelation is to be received with the most profound reverence, with the most entire submission, and with the most unfeigned thanksgiving[2]." This last concession amounts to every thing which the Christian desires; but no where in these passages is there any pretence of the *impossibility* of revelation, whatever doubts may be cast upon the reality of that which we receive. And wherefore should the possibility be called in question? If God cannot reveal his will to man, he has not the power even of man his creature, who unfolds his purposes and desires at any moment with the utmost facility. If God cannot reveal himself, it will imply, that we clearly apprehend all the ways in which ideas are communicable to the human mind, and that no one of those can be conceived to exist in the case supposed. If the infinite mind cannot act on finite mind, it is, at least, contrary to the analogy, which obtains in the material world, and which, perhaps, is of the two the less conceivable. If God cannot communicate his will to the sentient and rational beings of his creation, they are altogether independent of him. In a word, if revelation be impossible, it will follow, either that the power of God has a limit fixed to it, not by any contradiction in the nature of

[1] Leland, II. p. 47. [2] Ibid. II. p. 48.

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things, (such as that a thing should be and not be at the same time) and therefore, that he is not omnipotent; or else, that the course of nature framed by himself is inconsistent with the free exercise of his own attributes; which is absurd: or else, lastly, that there is an eternal fitness of things absolutely independent of God, who, therefore, is not supreme.

If, however, there be few, who doubt the possibility of Revelation, there are many who do not distinctly see that the condition of man requires it: they hold that reason is sufficient to direct him in his duties, and to make known to him all which really concerns him; they have convinced themselves, and would fain persuade others, that man naturally perceives the difference between right and wrong, and that in the natural exercise of this discrimination he will always be able to satisfy the condition of his being, and the relation in which he stands towards God. In this case, the doctrines of religion will be regarded as impositions on human liberty, and Revelation itself be questioned, as not being actually required. It may be proper, then, in a very few words, to discuss this question of the sufficiency of reason to the moral and spiritual wants of man.

It may be observed of those who hold such opinions, that while they exalt the human faculties, they equally depress the Being who gave them, and lower the standard of human responsibility. They argue, that the relation which is said by the advocates of religion to subsist between God and man, cannot have been truly represented; that the Almighty will not rigidly exact all that divines and moralists pronounce to be according to his law; that human nature is what he himself has made it; that the passions and evil propensities of man, if

they must so be called, are a part of his constitution; and that with all the blindness and ignorance of our nature, he, who uses such faculties as God has given him, and especially he, who abstains from doing injury to others, has nothing to apprehend; that acts of great generosity and kindness are done by men, who think little about religion; and that the world, so far as appears, would be better without it, especially as the conflicting tenets of philosophers do not lead to any breaches of charity; in truth, their schemes of Deism and your theory of Christianity are directed to pretty much the same conclusions: "peace and happiness" is the motto of both; and neither looks beyond the present world.

Upon the actual state of the relation between God and man I may take opportunity to speak hereafter; in the mean time let us examine the powers of reason as displayed independently of the influence of religion. I cannot, however, consent to admit any inferences from the writings or the lives of modern Deists; not that I think them in general such as to afford any support to the notion of the sufficiency of reason. Such instances are not fairly adduced. Men may now write well and justly upon moral subjects, without faith in religion, provided they are content to dispense with motives, and humanly to tell what is right, precisely as persons who are unable, or too idle, to follow the demonstrations of theorems in the Newtonian philosophy, may safely adopt the result, and affect to despise the process, by which alone it could have been deduced. The sciolist in philosophy owes nothing to mathematics; precisely as the moralist, who lives in the meridian light of Christianity, owes nothing to the Gospel; that is to say, that both would have been ignorant of their re-

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spective subjects, if they had been left wholly to themselves; nor can either of them stand his ground, if he meet with opposition: the one cannot utter a syllable in defence of his philosophical positions, if they be denied; and the other has nothing to say for his moral doctrines, if he meet with a person, who on the whole prefers to live according to nature. It is not, however, my meaning, that infidel moralists do always avail themselves even of the *conclusions* established by Revelation so far as they might; but only that it is difficult in such a case to keep the independent deductions of reason distinct from knowledge already familiar to us, and derived from a different source. Christianity has shed its light upon human life, upon the opinions, the habits, the views, and the judgments of men, and is blended with them, whether they cordially receive it or not; and no other solution can be given of the fact, that the relations of life, its duties and its charities, hold a degree of importance even among our unbelievers, which was utterly unknown among the wisest and best men, who lived before the era of the Gospel. Still there is a proud disdain of being thought to be under any obligation to it; it is much the same kind of perverseness, as that which should induce a man to pass all the days of his life in a dark chamber, and to pursue his occupation by moonlight, for the satisfaction of saying that he owed nothing to the sun; and this, after all, would not be true.

The question, therefore, is more properly limited to the case of those, who have not, or even cannot have, enjoyed even the reflected light of Christianity. The former of these classes will hardly embrace the followers of Mohammed; the Koran contains sentiments, floating indeed only here and there over a wide expanse, which

assuredly would not have been found in it, if the Arabian chieftain had lived before the appearance of Christ; but the Hindoos, the Chinese, and many other nations may be fairly . . . . . APPENDIX. No. III.

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THE following letter was written by Mr. Mill, the principal of the college, shortly after the death of Bishop Middleton. It is inserted here, as containing a variety of interesting and important details on subjects nearly connected with the designs of the Society for Propagating the Gospel; and, among them, a valuable notice respecting the Syro-Malabaric Church. No. IV.

Ajmeer, July 29, 1822.

REVEREND SIR,

The long interval that has elapsed between my last letter, announcing our arrival in India, and the present, has not, I trust, been understood by the Society, as proceeding from any want of respect to them, or of regard to their objects and interests in this country. Every thing regarding the college having been hitherto transacted between the Bishop of Calcutta and the Society, and the concern of the principal and professors in its administration having been, by the nature of this arrangement, suspended till the return of the approved statutes from England; it is obvious that we had little or nothing to report, beside the continuance of

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what we had announced before—the necessary study of languages, and other important and preliminary duties of our station. The few articles of intelligence that went beyond this, we thought we might safely leave to the bishop's correspondence—embracing doubtless every thing in which the infant interests of our establishment were even remotely concerned.

But, sir, the severe and unexpected loss we have just sustained, makes a total change in our condition in this respect. It would be useless and irrelevant in me to attempt to commemorate to the Society, a character whose splendid talents and virtues they have so long and so worthily appreciated. But the loss of him to us at this critical time, when the institution, which his enlightened zeal had projected, and watched over hitherto, was on the point of commencing its regular labours—is one which, while we acknowledge the secret wisdom of the Divine dispensation here, and endeavour to rise to the necessity it imposes, we feel that we can scarcely too much deplore. Under these circumstances, it becomes our duty to make a more particular return of our past and present proceedings: and even those points of local and minute information, which at a less extraordinary season might be addressed to the bishop only (or in his absence to the archdeacon), are now, on our founder's decease, proper to be submitted to the immediate consideration of the Society.

The attention of my colleague and myself was necessarily drawn at first to the study of the *Hindostanee*—a language, the Hindoo basis of which, diversified in dialect, is the vernacular tongue of that extensive central district of North India from which I am now writing, and which in its mixed state with Persian and Arabic, has been, ever since the Mogul conquests, the

general medium of communication in every other part of the country, in nearly the same manner, and with the same varieties, as the French in the several parts of the European continent. In addition to this, Mr. Alt had lately, at the suggestion of our lamented bishop, undertaken the study of the *Bengalee*, the vernacular language of the Hindoo population in the eastern province of Bengal Proper, totally distinct in construction and idiom from the Hindoo before mentioned. My own attention had been from the beginning chiefly devoted to the *Sanscrit*, the ancient Brahminical language, in which all the terms of Hindoo religion and philosophy are contained, and by which alone we can hope to understand that singular system of opinions, to which the whole of this vast population is enslaved. This, together with maintaining and improving my previous acquaintance with *Arabic* and *Persian*, the languages of theology and literature to all the better part of the Mahometan inhabitants, made up with more ordinary pursuits and studies, my principal occupation in the country.

It will be evident to the Society that of these five necessary languages, there is none, with the exception of the second, which is learnt with greater advantage at Calcutta than at any other place: the first and two last are better acquired in the regions adjoining Delhi and Agra; the third in every place (as Benares, Oujein, Poona, &c.) where the Brahmins have the ascendancy. Hearing therefore distinctly, that my official duties would not commence till after a year, and knowing that from that time they would detain me necessarily within the immediate neighbourhood of the presidency, I obtained (after eight months' residence in Bengal) our late bishop's approbation for visiting a friend at Poona,

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whom the event has connected more intimately with the concerns of our establishment than I then expected, and for taking in my way several parts (interesting in another view) of the coast of Malabar. Being, therefore, supplied with letters from his lordship to Cochin, and to archdeacon Barnes at Bombay, I embarked at the end of October last year, and arrived at the former port in November, with the intention of visiting the Christians of St. Thomas, as they have been very generally called, in the interior.

I trust I shall not barely be excused, but considered as performing a duty to the Society, in enlarging a little on the subject of that singular communion. For a Church, subsisting like theirs, if not from the apostolical age (a tradition justly suspected), at least from the ages immediately succeeding, whose members have been recognised as a distinct and respected class of the community, in the very heart of Hindooism, for more than fifteen centuries, is a phenomenon which cannot but claim the attention of every one engaged in the propagation of the Gospel in this country, and is itself a most satisfactory answer to the many who contend, that its permanent reception by any class of respectable natives, is an impossibility.

The Christians of St. Thomas, though evidently Indian themselves in origin, as in complexion and language, (which is the Malayalim,) have received their orders, with their liturgies and ecclesiastical traditions, from the more ancient parent church in Syria. Accordingly (notwithstanding the inaccurate later rumours concerning them, which seem with many to have superseded the excellent and laborious accounts of their former history, given by Dr. Michael Geddes, and by La Croze,) they resemble, in their form of government,

every other ancient church of which we have any knowledge, by which Christianity has been planted in the midst of idolaters: neither in the *three* orders (to which they have superadded many of confessedly inferior authority) do they differ from the Western Church, except that the deacons exercise fewer of the proper functions of the catanars or presbyters, than custom has allowed them among us. It were happy if, with this apostolical regimen, of which they are most carefully tenacious, they had preserved uniformly unimpaired the fundamental articles of the Christian faith; but the unhappy disputes respecting the person and natures of our Lord, which, beginning with verbal questions, ended with dividing the Oriental Churches into two opposite erroneous confessions, have extended their evil influence to the Church in Malabar. It is evident from the accounts that La Croze has detailed with his usual candour and sagacity, that at the time when the Portuguese were forcing the Romish usurpation, with all its novelties, upon them; they were, like the see of Babylon to which they adhered, Nestorian. And it is evident also, that those bishops and priests from Syria, by whose assistance, half a century after, they were enabled, for the greater part, to throw off that usurpation, and recover their ancient ecclesiastical independence, were from the see of Antioch, the most opposed to that heresy being Jacobites. And this is accordingly the creed of all the independent part of the Syro-Malabaric Church at this day, who are under a metropolitan bishop of their own nation. These correspond with the Church in Antioch: like them have the anti-catholic *expression* (to say the least) in use, of the two natures forming *one nature;* and unanimously hold the Nestorian duality of persons in the utmost detestation. The other great division of this

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Church, who remain under that forced subjection to the see of Rome, though they have still priests of their own nation, and their liturgy in Syriac, printed at Rome for their use, have all their superior governors sent to them from Europe, and are in a singular state of schism: the Portuguese archbishop of Cranganore, a suffragan of Goa, still claiming them as his charge, while this right is denied by the Propaganda Society at Rome, who have constantly sent out Italian vicars apostolic, and now latterly an Irish bishop, residing at Verapoli, to rule them. These unfortunate Churches, still sufficiently proud of their ancient character to feel for their present degradation, yet under the terror of the exclusive pretensions to catholicism and infallibility, submit partly to the one, partly to the other, of these opposite claimants.

It is the former and happier division of this singular people, to whom we look with the greatest interest and hope, as those whose recovery and rise to their early primitive character will, as we may confidently expect, bring with it the emancipation of the rest. From their venerable metropolitan, Mar Dionysius, who is exerting himself in various ways for the improvement of his clergy and people, I had the happiness of hearing very warm expressions of respect and attachment to the Church of England, and our late regretted bishop, whose interviews with himself, and mutual presents, he evidently remembered with great satisfaction. I received both from him, and several of his clergy, copies of the New Testament, and other works in Syriac, which I hope, at no distant time, to deposit in our college library. The readings of these copies (of which I collated many more at different Churches for seven of the more remarkable passages) add but little to the information

published by Professor Adler on this subject; they are chiefly remarkable for a gross interpolation in some Nestorian copies, in Heb. ii. 9. and a careful expunction of this, with an omission equally unauthorised, though not so impious in meaning, by the opposite party: and they curiously exemplify the effect of contrary heresies in preserving, as well as indirectly confirming, the general integrity of the sacred text. The want of 1 John v. 9. (except in one copy interpolated by the Romanists), and of the history at the beginning of John viii. is common to all.

The persons to whom I was chiefly indebted for my intercourse both with the priests and laity of this extraordinary people (of whose Indian language I was wholly ignorant,) were three clergymen of the Church of England resident at Cottyam in Travancore, and actively employed in superintending the college and the parochial schools: the former of which, by the grant of the Heathen government of that country, the latter, by the desire and contribution of these Christians themselves, have been recently established in their community. Singular as such a superintendence may appear, and almost unprecedented, there is nothing in it, as exercised by these clergymen, which opposes the order, either of that Episcopal Church they visit, or, as far as I am capable of judging, of that to which they themselves belong. For the *former*, they certainly do nothing but by the express sanction of the metropolitan consulting and employing them: their use of the Anglican service for themselves and families at one of his chapels, is agreeable to the Catholic practice of these Christians (who allowed the same 250 years ago to the Portuguese priests, as to persons rightly and canonically ordained, even while they were resisting their usurpations), and is

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totally unconnected with any purpose of obtruding even that liturgy upon the Syrian Church; while their conduct with respect to those parts of the Syrian ritual and practice, which all Protestants must condemn, is that of silence, which, without the appearance of approval, leaves it to the gradual influence of the knowledge now disseminating itself to undermine, and at length, by regular authority, to remove them. For the *latter*, which involves the more immediate and far more sacred duty of the two, though no opportunity for the display of this has yet existed in this native government, without the Company's territory, and the limits of the operation of our Indian Church establishment hitherto, yet I believe they fully acknowledge that episcopal relation and jurisdiction, to which they, equally with myself, or with any chaplain of the Company, are spiritually subject. Whatever suspicion may arise on this head from the avowed ecclesiastical principles of too many who support their respected Society (the Church Missionary Society) in England, I cannot, if I may be allowed the expression of my own judgment in this way, extend the same suspicion to them. For it appears plainly impossible that men of piety and integrity (such as I am persuaded these are) should thus support and act upon the ancient principles of unity and order in another Church, without at least equally regarding them in their own.

In stating these points respecting the Syro-Indian Church to the Society, I do little more than repeat what I had before stated at greater length to Bishop Middleton: and it is not among the least of the losses that I have sustained from his lamented and unforeseen departure, that I have been deprived of hearing from himself an opinion on these subjects; on some of which he alone was competent to decide, and on all of which

his interest in this people, and extensive acquaintance with their concerns, ancient and modern, enabled him to decide so well. I had the satisfaction, however, of receiving from him, in reply, a full approbation of my enquiries, with remarks of his own: as, indeed, before my departure from Calcutta, I had heard him express a wish, that the large collections of MSS. he had himself made in Malabar, might at some future time proceed from our college press; and speak of sending for Syriac types (together with the Arabic, Nagree, and other Eastern types wanted by the establishment) for that purpose. I am not at this moment acquainted with the distinction of those MSS., which, together with those deposited by the late Dr. C. Buchanan in the library of Cambridge, and a few within our possession in India, compose, I believe, nearly all the monuments which Europeans have ever obtained of this singular society.

Along the whole of this coast, from Cape Comorin to Calicut, there exists another class of Christians, totally distinct from either of the two divisions of the former Church (though Europeans who do not visit the interior too frequently confound them, to the great injury of the Syrians). These are all persons of the fishermen's caste, which further north is Pagan, whom the Portuguese, on their first landing, found little difficulty in persuading to submit to be baptized, and embrace their modes of worship. These poor people live in great ignorance, repeating the Latin ritual like others of the same class in the south of Europe, and are subject to the Portuguese bishop of Cochin. Far beyond the regions which contain these, from Mangalore northward to the Goa country, lie the most numerous remains of the converts made by Francis Xavier, and other Portu-

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guese missionaries of the sixteenth century. The character of these is generally respectable as compared with their Heathen and Mahometan neighbours: though in all their ideas, and their mode of considering even the sacred mysteries of Christianity, they rather resemble Hindoos than Christians; in the paganism of their rites, exceeding greatly the Romanists of the western world, and even retaining the distinction of *castes* among themselves. Their pastors, who are all of the half Portuguese half Indian race, sent to them from Goa, are little disposed or qualified to remove these evils, and appear to hold their people in the utmost contempt. A few Italian Carmelite missionaries stationed in the Canarese country, far surpassing these country pastors in intelligence and general character, only serve to shew more strongly the inefficacy of that corrupt form of religion, when exhibited in the most favourable shape, to produce any good effect in this country. The city of Goa now presents a most remarkable spectacle. Its splendid cathedral, churches, convents, &c. now stand insulated as in the country, no remnant existing of that populous city with which they were once surrounded. The new city, Panjam, is a comparatively mean place: the inquisition, too well known for its atrocities in the cases of F. Ephraim Neves, M. Dellon, &c. is now mouldering to ruins, without the least prospect of recovery. It is said that all the European Portuguese, who refuse to take the oaths to the new government, which is a government of half-castes, will be banished the country; and in this number the archbishop primate is included. To this prelate, the kindness of the commander at Cananore had given me letters; and I received considerable attentions from him during my stay. I have had the satisfaction

of sending him since a copy of the bishop's sermon, on laying the foundation of the college at Calcutta.

From Goa I proceeded by sea to Bombay, and thence to Poona. At this latter place, which was the principal object of my journey, I had the happiness of assisting at the commencement of a work, which forms the principal official intelligence I have now to communicate to the Society, I mean the Persian version of the Old Testament, undertaken under their auspices by my friend, the chaplain of that station. Mr. Robinson is, I believe, already favourably known to the Society, from his Bombay Visitation Sermon lately published, on the difficulties and the prospects of the clergy in India, and his qualifications as a Persian scholar are generally acknowledged in this country. He engaged in this undertaking with the approbation and encouragement of archdeacon Barnes; and one of the last acts of our late excellent diocesan's life was the formal acceptance of his labours, subject to all the statutes of the college respecting translations, its committees of revision, &c. This work, in conjunction with the New Testament of the late excellent Mr. Martyn (which may also be properly made a subject for the revision of the college), will, it is hoped, be the means of supplying the Mahometan natives of India, as of other parts, with a classical faithful version of the Scriptures in their favourite language, and forms in every view a most desirable opening of the labours of our college in this department. For what concerns the translation of Indian *tracts*, that work is already begun: Mr. Alt having already completed the Hindostanee Lord Bacon's Confession of Faith and other useful treatises, of which, I believe, accounts have been already transmitted to the Society.

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From Surat, the last place in the western coast which I visited, my intention had been to return to Bengal by sea; but the accounts I received of the uncertain length of a passage at this season, together with an invitation from the Resident at Pertabgurh, to accompany him to his station in Central India, determined me to prefer returning overland. Before leaving this interesting coast, I trust I shall be excused in remarking to the Society, on the peculiar want of Protestant missionaries here, compared with the opposite side of the peninsula, and the peculiar necessity here, considering the persons with whom they would have to do,—that these should be of the United Church of England and Ireland, or else of one of her sister Episcopal communions in America or Scotland. A remark of a different nature, but curious as relating to the history of religion in this country, should not be omitted. I allude to the existence of *Black Jews* in the Concana, or low tract of country between Bombay and Malwan on this coast, in equal or even superior numbers to those in the far southern neighbourhood of Cochin, who have for more than a century engaged the attention of the Christian public in Europe. They have, like the others, rabbies from that division of Jews in Europe, called Saphardim, or Spaniards. They have printed service-books also from them; circumstances which, with their possession of *all* the Old Testament, are sufficiently destructive of the imagination hastily entertained by some, that they are of the ten tribes. Many of the sepoys in the service of the Company at Bombay, are of this singularly interesting nation. They are called by themselves and their fellow-soldiers, Israeli; and all these men, however ignorant in other respects, can read the Hebrew letters.

When I had already proceeded as far in my return as Nusseerabad, in the territory of Ajmeer, and had received letters from the bishop in the course of my march, intimating that I should be in Calcutta before the end of October, the journals announced to me the melancholy event, which seems to have changed the face of all our proceedings in India. My return can be effected with ease within the limits assigned to it; but I lost no time in writing to archdeacon Loring, that he may require my presence earlier, should this in the present crisis be thought necessary. In the mean while, I hope that the time consumed in this tour, protracted as it has been beyond my calculation, will not be deemed lost, even to the purposes of study. The marches in India, with the retinue and conveniences they require, are far from being unfavourable for this; and the slight deficiencies as to reading, are more than compensated by the opportunities afforded for observation and intercourse with different classes of natives. I have been enabled, by this means only, to collect documents respecting the Parsees (or remnants of the ancient Persians, fire-worshippers, at Guzzera), the Jains, and other singular tribes or sects in the peninsula, which, with other books obtained during the same journey, from the Brahmins and regular Hindoos, may not be unfit for the library of an institution destined, as we hope, to embrace the whole of this country. Another reason, though not strictly belonging to the purpose for which I am sent hither, nor contemplated by myself beforehand, will not be heard with indifference by that Society which I have the honour of addressing,—it is, the miserable defect of ecclesiastical institutions of every kind in this central region, rendering even the casual hasty passage of an unknown clergyman of more im-

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portance than can readily be conceived in Europe. The multitudes who, within a few hours, applied to me for baptism, &c. in the cantonments of Nusseerabad and Nemuch, were enough to mark what must be the want in the other stations (equally abounding in European troops) of Mhow, Asseirgurh, Saujor, Husseinabad, Nagpore, &c. &c., all 500 miles or more distant from the nearest place where there is a chaplain, in either of the three surrounding presidencies. The commander at the first mentioned military station, who had applied twice in vain for a remedy of this evil, had passed, as he told me, sixteen years of his life without seeing a clergyman,—was *obliged* to perform several properly clerical offices himself, and this in some of the most populous of our stations in India. All the officers to whom I have spoken upon this subject, have appeared even astonished at a neglect from which the Dutch, the Portuguese, the French, and Danes in India, are so markedly free, and which I believe to be without parallel in the colonial history of any Christian nation. The prejudices of the natives have been strangely alleged at home in excuse for this; when it is known to all who have most conversed with them (as may be said without fear of contradiction), that in proportion to their fear of interference with their own modes of religion, is their disposition to condemn and even despise those who have no religious institutions themselves. Their esteem for the British nation seems to have increased from the happy and decided, but yet very partial, approaches to a better state that have taken place already: from the public opinion, which is now even loud upon the subject, we should be happy to augur more.

It was my wish to add here something respecting

the many encouraging appearances, now first presented, of the opening of the native mind in India; such as are the introduction of native newspapers in their own language, their curiosity respecting other manners and histories than their own, their desire to learn English, and (notwithstanding that suspicion on the article of religion, which makes every caution, short of dissimulation or compromise, necessary and proper towards them) to read in that view every *Shastra* of ours, when considered as a part of English education. This is a large subject of itself, upon which I hope hereafter more fully to address the Society. But there is one appearance of this kind, which, as it bears more immediately upon the great object always before us, I cannot omit; —I mean the rise, in different parts of India, of persons who, on the principles of natural religion only, oppose in speech and writing the reigning superstitions of their countrymen, as impious and abominable. These men, who are mostly of high caste as Hindoos, and retain fully their place in society, are not indeed enlightened as to the remedy wanted for the evils they discern: they mingle often with their opposition, views respecting satisfaction and atonement, more remote from the truth than the traditions (however distorted and corrupt) of the people they oppose; and they all want that disposition to undergo sacrifices in the cause of truth, which it seems that nothing but a better hope than theirs is able to inspire. Yet their party is extending itself; and while the leaders, content with the sort of admiration they excite, comply outwardly with the corruptions and superstitions they are undermining, the effect on the community at large, of this discussion, seems to be paving the way for their final destruction. The unfortunate course which the most celebrated of these

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leaders, Rammohun Roy of Calcutta, has taken, is perhaps not unknown to the Society. From being an adversary of the Brahmins, his brethren, on their own ancient principles, endeavouring to restore, on the authority of *some part* of the Vedas and their commentators, the primeval tradition of the Divine unity, the evil of idolatry, of bloody and obscene rites, &c., he has latterly turned to profess himself a Christian; but it is such a Christianity, as being unaccompanied with any submission of mind to its authority as a supernatural revelation, leaves us no reason to applaud the change. A work published by him some time since, under the very welcome and just title, "The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Happiness and Peace," was an artful attempt, —in exhibiting all the discourses of Christ which represented practice as the sum and substance of his religion,—to set the *morality* of the Gospel against its *mysteries;* studiously omitting all those discourses which joined the two inseparably together. The work, if divested of its insidious short preface, was perhaps calculated to do good, being composed of passages from the Gospels only; but when the Baptists of Serampore directly attacked the publication, he issued forth what he termed "A Defence of the Precepts of Jesus," being an elaborate tract against the doctrine of the Trinity, with that of the incarnation and sacrifice of our Saviour. This treatise, certainly not entirely his own—and, if report speaks truly, dictated by one who had separated from the Baptists, and has since opened an Unitarian meeting-house at Calcutta—is conspicuous for nothing so much as the presumptuous vanity of its nominal author: its affectation of western learning, and attempts at Greek and Hebrew criticisms, are to the last degree con-

temptible; and what there is in it to deserve notice, is borrowed from the long confuted supporters of the same impiety in England. Whatever mischief may be apprehended from this publication (which, like his other publications, is not deficient either in style or plausibility of manner) amongst the malignantly disposed, who will not inquire further, or amongst those of the Mahometan superstition, who, with their strong prejudices against the characteristic mystery of Christianity, are yet half convinced by its evidences, there are yet satisfactory appearances that the antichristian apostacy it supports will not gain ground among the Christians of this place; and the rock upon which the Church is built will remain here, as in the whole world, unshaken.

With repeated assurances to the Society, of my devotion to their cause and objects in this country,

I am, reverend sir, yours very faithfully,

W. H. MILL.

No. V.

Letter from Earl Bathurst to Sir Thomas Brisbane, respecting the archdeaconry of New South Wales. No. V.

London, January 1, 1825.

SIR,

1. HIS Majesty having been pleased to erect an archdeaconry in the colony of New South Wales, by letters-patent, bearing date the second day of October last, has been pleased to nominate the Reverend Tho-

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mas Hobbes Scott, to be the first archdeacon. Mr. Scott will proceed by my direction, in the present conveyance to take upon himself the duties of his office.

2. The duties of the archdeacon are, in a great measure, defined by the letters-patent under which he has been appointed, and where they are silent, the canons and ecclesiastical law of the Church of England will furnish the rules by which his conduct will be guided. But in order to promote, as far as possible, the effectual accomplishment of those important purposes with a view to which this appointment has been made, I take this opportunity of communicating to you his Majesty's pleasure upon some of the more material questions which may be expected to arise respecting the duties of the archdeacon.

3. Mr. Scott will report his arrival to you as soon as possible after he has reached the colony, and you will cause a proclamation to be issued in his Majesty's name for making known to all his Majesty's subjects in the colony, the erection of the new archdeaconry, and the appointment of the Reverend Mr. Scott as the first archdeacon, and requiring all the clergy of the established Church, and other his Majesty's subjects, to yield all due canonical obedience to the archdeacon.

4. It will be one of the earliest duties of the archdeacon to exercise, on his Majesty's behalf, the power of visitor of all schools maintained throughout the colony by his Majesty's revenue; and he will transmit to you his report of such circumstances connected with those establishments as he may think necessary to bring under your consideration or to transmit through you to this department.

5. The archdeacon will also enter, with all convenient dispatch, upon the performance of the important office of

making a public visitation of all the churches throughout the colony, including the settlement of Van Dieman's Land. The various chaplains in the colony, and all churchwardens, officiating clerks, and other persons connected with the celebration of Divine worship, or with the service and care of ecclesiastical edifices, will understand that they are bound to attend the archdeacon's visitation, and to render to him such information as he may require from them, connected with the spiritual or secular concerns of the Church. This visitation will be annually repeated. The periods for making it will be fixed by the archdeacon, who will, however, communicate with you, before he notifies to the clergy, his intention of holding any such visitations; you will, of course, afford him every degree of assistance and co-operation which it may be in your power to render.

6. The distance of Van Dieman's Land from Sydney, rendering it impossible that the archdeacon should, in his own person, maintain an habitual inspection of the concerns of the Church throughout the whole of his archdeaconry, he will appoint a proper person to officiate as rural dean in Van Dieman's Land during his absence from that settlement, and you will make that appointment known to the lieutenant-governor of the island.

7. In the execution of his office, and especially of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction vested in him by his patent, questions of a legal nature may arise, upon which it may be desirable that the archdeacon should receive the opinion and advice of one or both of his Majesty's law officers in the colony. You will, therefore, transmit officially to the attorney-general, or, in cases of special importance, both to the attorney and solicitor-general, for their opinion and advice, any

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questions, of a legal nature, which the archdeacon may desire you to propose to him in reference to his official duties.

8. In the event of its becoming necessary that the archdeacon should exercise the ecclesiastical jurisdiction with which he is invested, you will signify to the attorney-general of the colony, or if for any reason he should be unable to act, then to the solicitor-general, that it is his Majesty's pleasure that he should act as assessor of the archdeacon's court, for the purpose of assisting the archdeacon's judgment upon any questions of law which may arise in the course of any judicial process depending before him.

9. Upon the arrival of any chaplain in the colony by virtue of any appointment made subsequently to the date of the archdeacon's patent, such chaplain will, in the first instance, report his arrival to you. It will then become your duty to refer him to the archdeacon, who, with all convenient expedition, will signify to you in writing his opinion, in what particular station such chaplain may be most advantageously placed, and you will accordingly, in deference to the judgment of the archdeacon, appoint each chaplain to officiate in the place so recommended to you.

10. It will further be the duty of the archdeacon to regulate, in reference to the canons of the Church of England, the times at which Divine service shall be performed in each of the churches, chapels, and public establishments of the colony, and he will be authorised to admonish the clergy respecting the particular seasons at which they are to celebrate and perform the various ordinances contained in the Book of Common Prayer.

11. All the inferior officers connected with the eccle-

siastical establishment throughout the colony, such as vergers, clerks, sextons, and bell-ringers, will be nominated by the officiating minister of the church or chapel to which they may be attached. Every such nomination will be reported by such minister to the archdeacon for his approbation; and unless the archdeacon should see good cause to disallow any such appointment, he will approve and confirm it, and, therefore, the person so appointed will be considered as invested with his office, though subject to be removed by the archdeacon for any reasonable and sufficient cause to be judged of by the archdeacon.

12. In the event of any clergyman conducting himself in such a manner as to create a public and notorious scandal, or being guilty of any gross neglect or abuse of his clerical duties, if the archdeacon should be of opinion that the case is such as that the interests of religion require the suspension of any such person from his clerical functions, and should certify that opinion to you in writing under his hand, you will be authorised to act upon the archdeacon's recommendation and responsibility, and to suspend any such clergyman accordingly. And it will be the duty of the archdeacon immediately to transmit, through you to his diocesan, a full statement of the case. If the restitution, or the further suspension, or the permanent removal of any such clergyman should be ultimately directed by the bishop of the diocese, you will act in that case in conformity with such decision as you may receive from him. It is, however, to be distinctly borne in mind, that the archdeacon will not interfere in recommending the suspension of any clergyman, except only on the ground of offences committed against the order and discipline of the Church of England, or of im-

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moral and licentious conduct. You will exclusively retain in your own hands the power of animadverting upon the conduct of any clergyman whose offences or misconduct may be merely of a political nature.

13. If any special occasion should arise (such, for example, as the celebration of a public fast or thanksgiving), in which it may be necessary to observe special and peculiar ecclesiastical ceremonies, you will, in his Majesty's name, issue such a proclamation for that purpose as may be prepared and recommended by the archdeacon under your immediate sanction and direction. All questions which may arise for your decision relative to the stipends and allowances of the inferior clergy, will be submitted by you to the archdeacon for his opinion and advice, before you finally adopt any measures respecting them.

14. I have to communicate to you his Majesty's pleasure, that the archdeacon is to take rank and precedency in the colony, next after the lieutenant-governor, and you will on all public occasions be careful to confer on him such marks of attention as may most effectually recommend his person and his sacred office to the respect of the lower and less educated classes of society.

15. In the event of any difference of opinion arising between the archdeacon and yourself, respecting your relative duties and authority, you will transmit to me such explanations as the case may require, in order that I may be enabled to furnish you with instructions for your guidance.

16. His Majesty having been pleased to grant a salary of two thousand pounds sterling English money for the support of the archdeacon, you will observe, that this salary commenced from the 5th of April, 1824, the

date of Mr. Scott's appointment; and that it will be payable by half-yearly instalments on the usual days, and that each payment is to be effected in the same manner, in the same currency, and at the same rate of exchange, in which the corresponding instalment of your own official income may have been paid. You will further defray out of that part of the public revenues, which is subject to your appropriation, such moderate expenses as the archdeacon may unavoidably incur in making his visitations, the charge for such expenses being previously laid by you before your council and allowed by them.

I have the honour to remain,

&c. &c. &c.

BATHURST.

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